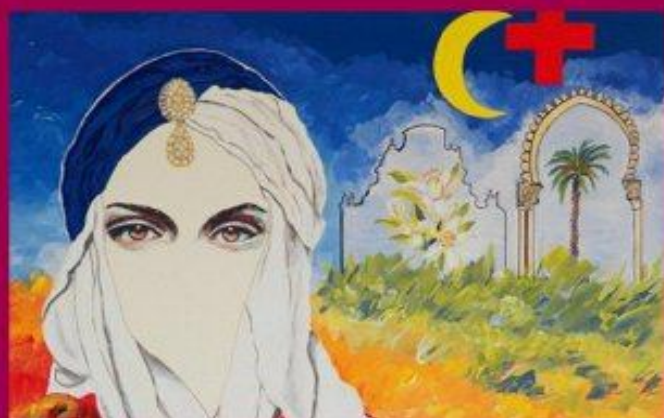


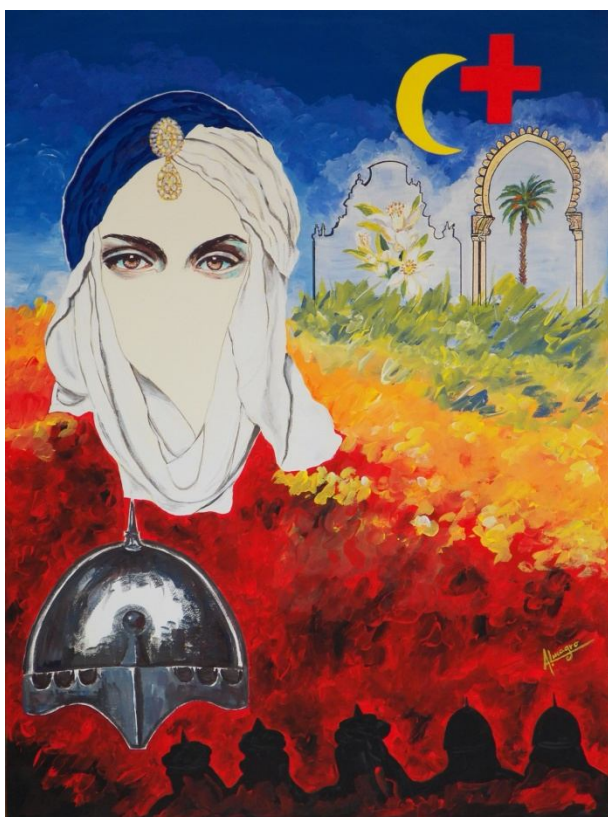
Muslim history of the Region of Murcia (1080-1228) Volume II



**Govert Westerveld
2017**

Muslim history of the Region of Murcia (1080-1228)

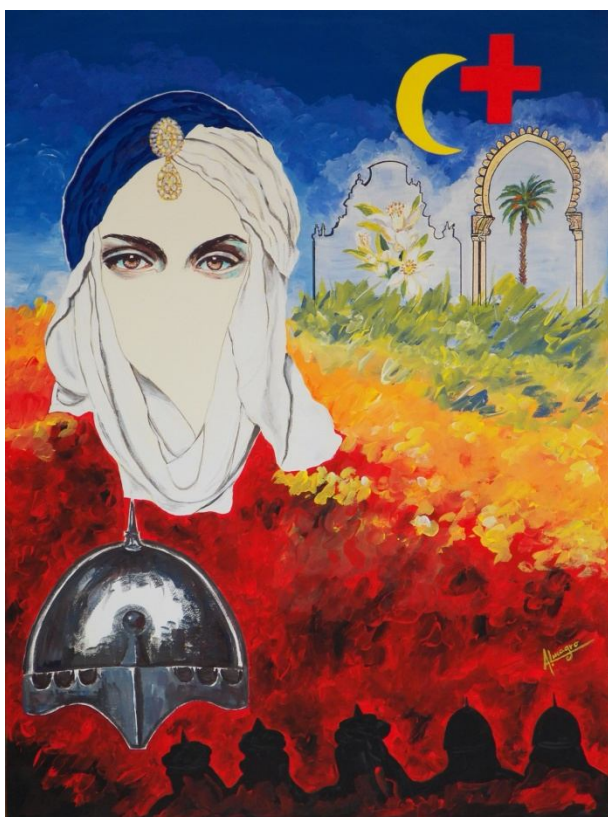
Volume II



Govert Westerveld
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2017

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Muslim history of the Region of Murcia (1080-1228).

Volume II

**Academia de Estudios Humanísticos de Blanca
(Valle de Ricote)**

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to the English teacher

Mari Cruz Gómez Molina

This book is dedicated to Mari Cruz Gómez Molina. To rule is to look into the future. Gómez Molina was acting as Manager of the Tourism Promotion Plan of the Ricote Valley between 2002 and 2010 and so the Ricote Valley became known worldwide thanks to her promotion and international contacts. Today she continues to look into the future by promoting the Ricote Valley; in her daily task of teaching children English she is again ruling and preparing the future. We all know the importance of English; thanks to her continuous hard work new generations will be infected with her enthusiasm to continue the efforts for promoting this latest famous Muslim outlet.



Preface

If this book (Volume II) did not seem to me highly readable and interesting enough to foreigners, I would not have translated so many Spanish texts, and publish the work thereafter, because after all the compensation will be zero. I am not interested here in praising the book and recommending it to readers. They will understand its merit without getting me tired to commend it. I am also not going to contradict or challenge the Arabists highlighting the errors which I may have incurred; my great ignorance of the Arabic language and literature does not consent it.

As a foreigner I am always interested in the local history of a place, and the more I read about the place, the more I am interested in knowing more of its history. Something like that occurred while I was investigating the history of the village of Blanca which lies in the Ricote Valley of the province of Murcia. I could not get further than to 1243, but of course the castle of Blanca had been constructed around 1180, which means that there is more history of this village. It is necessary to write about the history of the kingdom of Murcia (Tudmir) to have an idea of what the history and way of life in Blanca was like in those years. Just as a stone flung into the water becomes the centre and cause of different circles. Here the centre is Tudmir and the circle is Blanca.

This work is the result of studies led by me during my long stay in Blanca (Murcia, Spain). At the same time the desire awoke in me to learn more about the culture of this territory. The darkness and oblivion opposed my purpose, of a nation that almost for eight centuries dominated in Spain. On the other hand the political history of the Spanish Arabs (Muslims) in Murcia remained in the deepest darkness until recently. I do not

deny the glory of my countryman Dozy and the immense service he has done with its publications to Spain, but we cannot ignore that today we have Arabists in Murcia and Spain who follow the footsteps of the wise Dutch and have improved on him a lot.

Murcia belonged to Al-Andalus and throughout the period of Islamic rule, Al-Andalus was a remarkable example and outstanding model of tolerance. All Jews and Christians were allowed to maintain their beliefs and live their lives as they desired as long as they respected their Muslim rulers. The Muslims played a principal role in the history of Spain. Their presence illuminated the Iberian Peninsula while the rest of Europe was engulfed in darkness. And so, Andalusia produced a great civilization far ahead and advanced than the rest of Europe. Under their rule, Muslims made Spain a center for learning and knowledge.

In this development over centuries a certain period was dominated by the Islamic sciences - it stretches from the beginning of the 8th to the end of the 12th century. Although some original scientists manifested themselves even during the 13th to the 15th century, the real vital drive of the intellectual energy was already on the way back in this period. However, the influence of this scientific movement in the West was noticeable until the end of the 16th century and even later.

The fact that one must assign an important place in the history of science at the medieval science is a fact that has only recently been recognized by historians. Indeed, the Middle Ages as a whole - particularly with regard to scientific thinking - were easily seen as a period of obscurantism, a sterile and unproductive period: the dark ages. This view has its roots in two outdated attitudes that were widely distributed among historians of the Middle Ages. The first is to focus on the political and economic problems without considering the

scientific achievements: one reduces the role of the Middle Ages to the passing of science regardless of real creativity. In exceptional cases where the scientific achievements were still studied they limited themselves to considering the sciences of the Latin Middle Ages, while the Eastern science was ignored. This was the second mistake.

This attitude is due to the contempt medieval science was bestowed on in the Renaissance in the 17th and 18th centuries. Renaissance relied on the classics after any other source of knowledge and put a real hostility on beliefs of a different origin. The scientific creativity in the Middle Ages, however, is mainly found in the Arabic texts. If, therefore, one wants to rewrite the history of the Middle Ages as a whole and revalue its intellectual heritage, one must consciously consider the Arabic literature.

On the other hand, the Eastern influences on the development of science in ancient times never got the place they deserved after the historiography of this period. The 8th and 9th centuries are the time when the Greek science is passed to the Islamic world. Then the Islamic science came to the Latin world from the 11th to the 14th century.

The translation movement of Greek scientific works into Arabic during the Islamic Middle Ages included almost the totality of the scientific literature and in less than a hundred years this literature was not only available in Arabic, but also assimilated by the scholars of Islam that began to build original work on these new foundations.

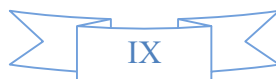
This scientific literature of Greek origin became enriched in his new Islamic intellectual environment with Oriental, Persian, Indian, Chinese elements and other yet to be clarified. In other words, the Indian or Chinese science in general did not directly


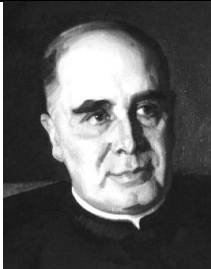



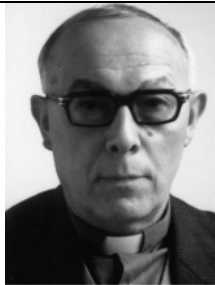



influence the historical development of the sciences in the West. But they did so well through the medieval Islamic science.










From the 8th century until the end of the 11th century Arabic was the universal language of science. During these 350 years everybody who wanted access to existing scientific literature had to resort to Arabic. Even in the 12th and 13th centuries Arabic still remained the fastest way to gain access to the scientific novelties. Spain, especially Toledo, and Italy, particularly in the south and Sicily, were the main centers of transfer of scientific knowledge from the East in Latin to the West. It is thus obvious that the scientific tradition, of which modern science is the last chapter, passed through various stages of progress, which are successively Greek, Arabic, and Latin.







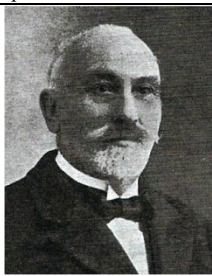


This book is the result of Arabic texts translated to Spanish by various authors. The result is that on more than one occasion the names of people in question are written in a different way. I did not change or correct their names during my translation from Spanish to English, because this is the work of the real experts, the Arabists. I have only written this book of the history of Arabic Murcia, because till now Murcia lacks an English edition about the Arabic history of Murcia. Many people coming from foreign countries are passionate like me about the Spanish history. Among them there is a large group that does not master the Spanish language and has a big desire to read the history of Islamic Murcia in English. I have written this book for them so that they can familiarize themselves with the history of the region of Murcia, the town of Murcia, and its other villages.




Govert Westerveld
Hispanist



		
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Bernabé Pons, Luis Fernando Spain	Bosch Vilá Jacinto (1922-1985) Spain	Cabanelas Rodríguez, Dario (1916-1992) Spain
		
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Ribera y Tarrago, Julián (1858-1934) Spain	Simonet, Francisco Javier (1829-1897) Spain	Steiger, Arnald (1896-1963) Switzerland

		
<p>Vallvé Bermejo, Joaquín (1929-2011) Spain</p>	<p>Guichard, Pierre France</p>	<p>Nykl, Alois Richard (1885-1958) United States</p>

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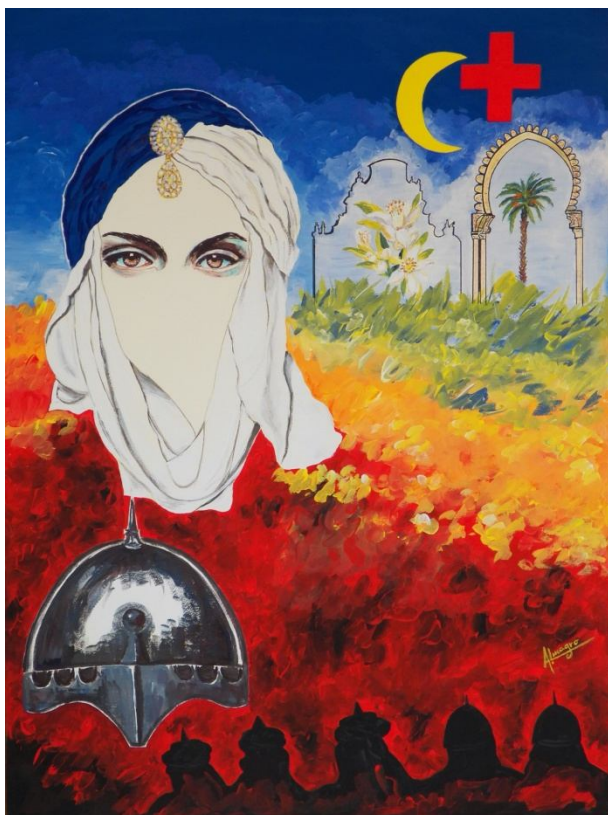
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Front cover:
Poster of the Moors and Christians festival of Murcia,
painted by Ana M^a Almagro in 2014

Symbology of the different elements that compose the drawing:

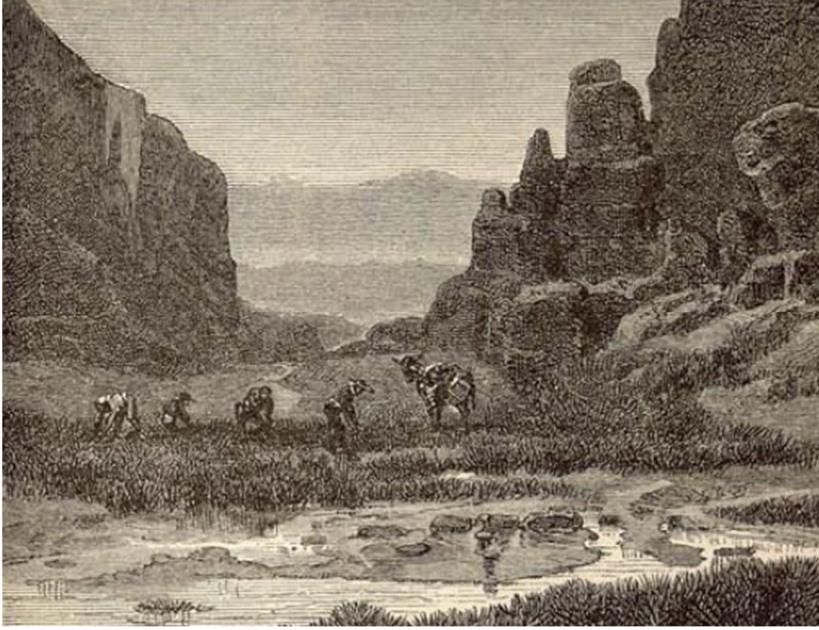
- Starting at the bottom, the figures that are seen in black, in silhouette, represent the parade that runs through the most important streets of the capital of Murcia.
- The red background is the "fire" of the party, as this type of celebrations burns with passion; Parades, gastronomy, friendship, joy.
- Continuing up, there is the orchard of Murcia with its ocher, yellow and green; The images the artist considered most distinctive of this place: its garden, the palm tree, the flower of the orange blossom, green and gold. Also as very representative of Murcia, the facade of the cathedral and an Arab arch, both are looking at each other, in perspective, as if they are greeting each other.
- In the foreground, the most significant elements of the poster: the helmet, the turban and some eyes that show the eyes of the spectator, the eyes that look at the Fiesta, who see the parades, eyes of natives and outsiders who come together in coexistence and friendship to enjoy the festivities.
- With the union of all these elements, the artist has tried to create a Murcia that can be recognized both by the Murcians themselves and by the rest of Spaniards or foreigners. Murcia and its celebrations are permuted in some festivals in which all coexist in perfect tolerance.

1 INTRODUCTION

The province of Murcia, the only genuine palm-growing country in Europe, has a truly African climate. In the town of Murcia the annual mean temperature is 63, while the summer heat rises to 113. The air here is of astonishing dryness (mean annual humidity 60 percent), and the winter sky is noted for its unclouded blue.

The kingdom of Murcia (*el Reino de Murcia*) possesses only one important river, the *Segura*, which, with its large tributary the *Mundo*, descends from the *Sierra de Alcaraz* (5910 ft.), the *Calar del Mundo*, and the *Sagra Sierra* (7875 ft.) The 'reino serenísimo', the brightest but at the same time one of the hottest regions in Europe, owes the scantiness of its water-supply to its situation in the S.E. corner of the Iberian peninsula, where it is swept, not like the neighbouring Andalusia, by the moist W. wind from the Atlantic, but by the parching breath of the Sahara, scarcely alleviated by its short passage over the Mediterranean. The *Lebeche*, a S. wind resembling the Scirocco, sometimes covers the entire vegetable world with a thick coat of dust within a few minutes. Men and animals overtaken by it sink exhausted to the ground. The *Calina*, a kind of heat-haze, gradually steals over the whole face of the heavens. Towards the middle of July the horizon is girdled with a narrow strip of a bluish-red or brownish colour, which waxes as the heat increases. In August the upper part of the firmament also assumes a leaden-gray hue, across which the light of the stars glimmers feebly. The rising sun and moon shine red through this haze; mountains, trees, and buildings loom through it like spectres. Not till towards the close of September does the calina disappear. The abnormal climate (comp. also p. 316) explains the other remarkable phenomena of this strange land. Among these are the tree-less mountains; the sudden *avenidas* (p. 280) or floods, occasioned by heavy falls of rain at the

sources of the rivers; and the extensive *despoblados*, or deserts of hill, moor, and salt-marsh, where nothing grows except esparto grass and saltwort.



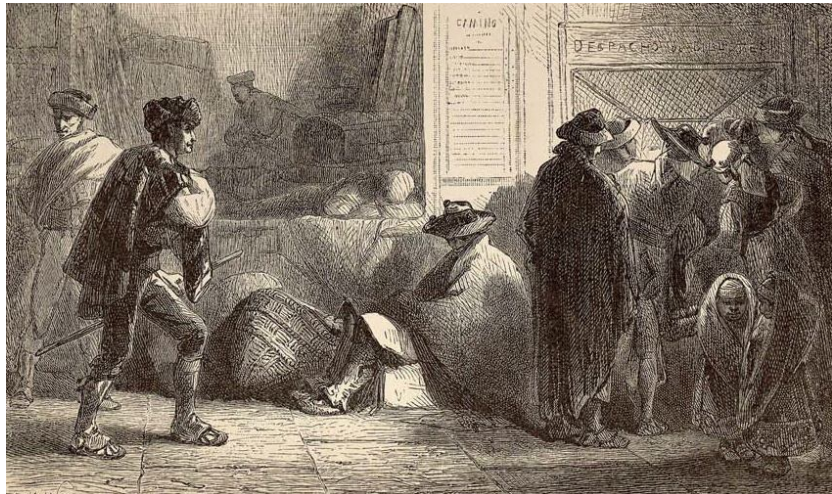
Esparto grass for the manufacturing of mats

The few evergreen plants are used by the inhabitants as fuel, the only alternative being the dried dung of the domestic animals. The bulk of the country is occupied by the *despoblados*. Along with them may be mentioned the so-called *Secanos*, or ‘dry lands’, where the want of rain in March, the ‘key of the year’, often destroys the entire harvest. The February rains are too early; those of April find the sprouting grain already dried up and the vines scorched. The whole agricultural wealth of the country is concentrated in the *Tierras de Regadía*, or irrigated districts. While the plateau of Albacete produces little but grain, wine, and olives, the beautiful huertas of Murcia, Totana, and

Lorca are clothed with forests of orange-trees, lemon-trees, and date-palms. The valley of the Segura is also the chief centre for the culture of flowers and vegetables. Equally important sources of wealth are mining and the making of salt and soda (from the *Halogeton sativus*). The almost inexhaustible stores of lead and silver were exploited from a very early period by the Phoenicians, Carthaginians, and Romans, and at a later date, by the Moors. Resembling N. Africa in climate, vegetation, and the general conditions of existence, Murcia has been from time immemorial a favourite goal of Oriental immigration; and its present population, in spite of the expulsion of the Moriscoes still bears a thoroughly African stamp. Murcia is the Spanish Boeotia and lags behind the other provinces of the peninsula. Hence its neighbours say of it that Adam, on his return to earth, found here his old home in unchanged condition, and that while the sky and the soil are good, all that lies between is evil (*el cielo y suelo es bueno, el entresuelo malo*).

Murcia (140 ft.), the *Medinat Mursiya* of the Moors, is the capital of the former kingdom and the present province of the same name, and has been the seat of a bishop since 1291. Pop. 31,892. It lies on both banks of the *Segura* (the *Tader* of the ancients and the *Skehûra* of the Moors), which separates the old town, on the left, from the newer quarters, with their wide tree-shaded streets, on the right. The environs of Murcia surpass in fertility both the Vega of Granada and the Huerta of Valencia; but the mountains, which rise on all sides, are bare and barren. The Montaña de Fuensanta (p. 317) is a beautiful feature in the view to the S. The climate of Murcia (comp. p. 281) is liable to great variation. The summer is extremely warm (maximum 120° Fahr.) and in winter ten degrees of frost are by no means unheard of. Young plants are often injured by the cold N. wind on the nights of March. The elms, planes, mulberries, and fig-trees seldom put forth their leaves before the second half of March. The city is unknown to history before its foundation by the Moors. After the fall of the caliphate of Cordova it

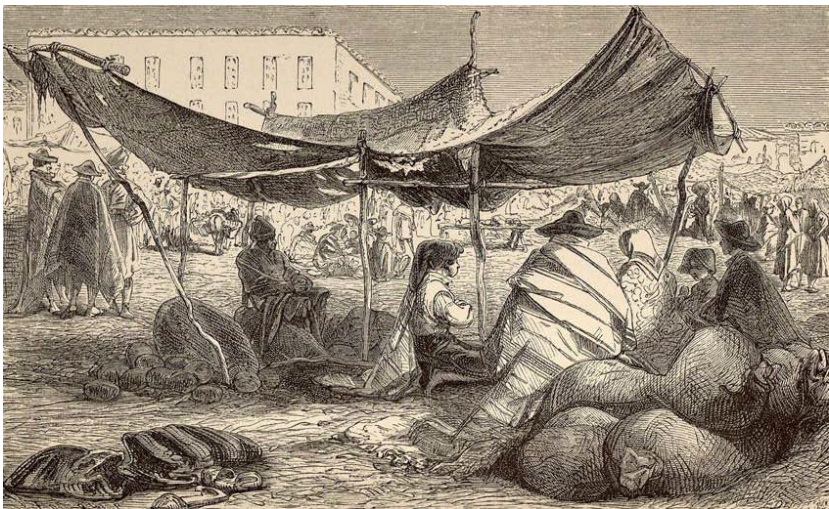
belonged in turn to Almeria, Toledo, and Sevilla. In 1172 it fell into the hands of the Almohades (p. 369), and from 1224 to 1243 it formed an independent Moorish kingdom under ‘Abdullah el-‘Adil. In the latter year it was taken by Ferdinand III of Castile. Numerous Catalan, Aragonese, and French families then took up their abode here, and their names are still preserved. In the War of the Spanish Succession Bishop Luís de Belluga successfully defended the town against the troops of the Archduke of Austria by placing the huerta under water. From the Railway Station the Paseo del Marqués de Corbera (Pl. D, 4-6) leads to the Jardín de Floridablanca (Pl. D, 3, 4), with a monument to Jos. Moñino, Conde de floridablama (1729-1808), the minister of Charles III. The Paseo here joins the other main thoroughfares, and is continued by the Calle del Puente to the hand-some stone Bridge, which crosses the Segura to the old town.



The Railway Station

The large sunny square to the N. of the bridge is the Arenal or *Plaza de la Constitución*, enlivened on Wed. and Sat. by

peasants in their gay costumes engaged in marketing. On its E. side is the *Paseo de la Glorieta*, a pleasant promenade, affording fine views of the imposing S. façades of the *Casas Consistoriales* and the *Palacio Episcopal*. On the N. the last faces the *Plaza del Cardinal Belluga*, in which rises also the Cathedral. The Cathedral (*Santa María*), a Gothic building founded by *Bishop Peñaranda* in 1358, on the site of a mosque, was partly modernized in 1521. The effective baroque Façade was erected in the 15th cent. by *Jaime Bort*. The *North Tower* is the only one completed. The *Portada de Los Apóstoles* is late-Gothic; the *Portada de las Lágrimas* is attributed to *Berruguete*.



Market in Murcia

Interior. The aisle on both sides are flanked by series of chapels, the transept is short, and an ambulatory encircles the Capilla Mayor. The *Coro*, projecting into the nave, has stalls of the 18th cent., brought hither from another church. Above the *trascoro* is the large organ. — The Chapels possess many features of interest. In the *4th Chapel* of the right aisle is a fine

relief of the Nativity (known as 'The Shepherds') by an unknown master of the Renaissance. In the *Capilla del Sagrario* is a Marriage of the Virgin by Vicente Joanes Macip (1516). In the *Capilla de San José* is a picture of St. Luke painting the Madonna, a fine copy of the work ascribed to Raphael at the Academy of St. Luke in Rome, and in the *Capilla del Marqués de los Vélez* is a statue of St. Jerome, by Franc. Zarcillo. The *Capilla del Marqués Noveldes*, richly decorated in the Gothic style, is modern except its lower portion. — The Capilla mayor is adorned with numerous statues of kings and saints. A casket in a Renaissance niche to the left contains the heart and viscera of *Alfonso the Learned*. To the right are the remains of *St. Fulgentius* and *St. Florentina*. The *High Altar* has a modern gilded retablo, with a painting of Christ elevating the Host, after the frequently recurring type of Macip. — The Sacristía Mayor, with its beautiful Renaissance portal, contains some fine wood-carvings by Berruguete and a custodia by Pérez de Montalbo (1677).

The Tower (310 ft. high) of the cathedral was completed by *Card. Mateo de Langa* (Matthias Lang, a German) in 1521, and shows the hands of various architects: *Berruguete*, *Herrera*, *Montañés*, and *Ventura Rodríguez*. It consists of several sections, diminishing in size as they ascend. The lowest story is richly decorated in the plateresque style.

Entering by the door adjoining the N. transept, we ascend at first by 18 inclined planes and then by 44 tall steps to the clock. whence an easy spiral staircase ascends to the upper story (fee to the 'Campanero', 20-25 c.). The View embraces the town und the valley of the Segura and that of the Sangonera up to Lorca; to the S., the Montaña de la Fuensanta; to the E., the cemetery and Monte Agudo. To the N.W. is the Hieronymite convent, and to the N. the plateau rises gradually to the mountains. From the Cathedral the Calle del Príncipe Alfonso, the chief business-street of Murcia (no wheeled traffic),

containing many interesting balconied houses and the sumptuous Casino, leads to the N. to the spacious Plaza de Santo Domingo, which is planted with trees. About halfway the Plateria, a street so narrow that carriages are excluded from it, diverges to the left. In summer it is protected against the sun by movable awnings (*toldos*). The celebrated *mantas* of Murcia and articles of gold and silver may be purchased at numerous shops in this street. — 'I'o the S.W. the Plateria ends at the *Plaza de Monasot*, on the E. side of which stands the old church of Santa Catalina, containing some fine tombs. On the S. side is the *Contraste*, the old assay-office for weights and measures, now containing a small Museo Provincial, with pictures by *Ribera*, *Orrente*, *Bassano*, and others. Several other churches in Murcia may be mentioned. San Juan contains two busts of John the Baptist, by *Franc. Zarcillo*. — In the church of San Nicolás are a coloured group of St. Joseph and the Holy Child by *Mala* (side-chapel of the N. transept) and a coloured statuette of St. Anthony, in the dress of the Capuchins, by *Alonso Cano*; on the altar of the left transept.

— San Miguel possesses a remarkable retablo by F. Zarcillo. — The Ermita de Jesús, a round edifice beside the church of San Andres, contains a unique series of *Pasos*, or processional figures, by Francisco Zarcillo, including the Last Supper, the Agony In the Garden, the Kiss of Judas, and Christ on the way to Golgotha; apply to the majordomo.

We follow the river to the W. of the Arenal and finally ascend a flight of five stone steps to the Paseo del Malecón, the finest, though shadeless, promenade of Murcia. This, commanding a fine view, runs along the quay or river-embankment ('malecón'), which protects various groves of oranges and palms from inundations.

Excursiones. The convent of San Jerónimo, about 3 M. to the W., contains an admirable work by *Fr. Zarcillo*, representing St. Jerome with the crucifix and skull.

- The convent of Fuensanta, with its spring, is situated to the S., halfway up the mountain of its own name. It may be reached by carriage in 3/4 hr., but the road is rather rough.
- A drive to the Monte Agudo affords an excellent survey of the luxuriant vegetation of the huerta¹.



Cathedral of Murcia

¹ **BAEDEKER, Karl** (1908). Spain and Portugal. Handbook for travellers, pp. 281, 282, 316, 317.

2 1026-1091 FIRST TAIFAS OF MURCIA

2.1 1080-1091 ‘Abd Allah b. Rashiḳ

2.1.1 Tudmir

Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn Rashīḳ al-Qushayrī, with the short name of Ibn Rashiḳ rebelled against al-Mu’tamid, arguing that he had been chosen governor of Murcia by its inhabitants. Although the dinars and dirhams coined in Murcia bear the name of al-Rashid -al-Mu’tamid’s eldest son- it became clear that Ibn Rashiḳ did not give up his governorship in Murcia.

The Emperor Alfonso VI -King of Leon, Castile, Galicia and Navarre- was firmly resolved to conquer the whole Peninsula, nor did he lack the power to carry out his intention. One of the lieutenants of Emperor Alfonso VI, Garcia Ximenez, had equipped himself (in 1086²) with an army of horsemen in the castle of Aledo (Tudmir), not far from Lorca, and made incessant raids of Almeria³.

The last sovereign king of al-Andalus, al-Mu’tamid, saw his Abbadid-inherited taifa of Seville, controlled since 1069, in jeopardy of being taken by the increasingly stronger king of Castile-León, Alfonso VI. Mu’tamid, in combination with other Taifa’s kings, asked Yusef ibn Tashfin, King of the Almoravides, for help.

Shortly thereafter Yusuf crossed to al-Andalus and achieved victory at the Battle of az-Zallaqah, also known as the *Battle of Sagradas* in the west.

² **HUICI MIRANDA, Ambrosio** (1954) *El sitio de Aledo*. In: *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, Vol 3, pp. 41-55. Citation on p. 49

³ **DOZY, Reinhart** (1913) *Spanish Islam*. Translated with a biographical introduction and notes by Francis Griffin Stokes, pp. 690-691

He came to al-Andalus with a force of 15,000 men, armed with javelins and daggers, most of his soldiers carrying two swords, shields, cuirass of the finest leather and animal hide, and accompanied by drummers for psychological effect. Yusef's cavalry was said to have included 6,000 shock troops from Senegal mounted on white Arabian horses. Camels were also put to use. On October 23, 1086, the Almoravid forces, accompanied by 10,000 Andalusian fighters from local Muslim provinces, decisively checked the Reconquista, significantly outnumbering and defeating the largest Christian army ever assembled up to that point by Alfonso VI. The death of Yusef's heir, however, prompted his speedy return to Africa.



Aledo
Public Domain. Photo of Sarang

And yet, important and brilliant as the Victory had been, it was by no means decisive. The Castilians, at any rate, refused to regard it in that light. In spite of the defeats which they had sustained they did not despair of regaining their lost ground. They admitted that an attack against Badajoz and Sevilla would be too hazardous, but the east of Andalusia was vulnerable, and might easily be devastated, if not conquered. The petty principalities of the East — Valencia, Murcia, Lorca, Almeria - were the weakest States in the Peninsula, and the Castilians occupied a very strong position in their midst which completely dominated them. This was the fortress of Aledo—of which the ruins still exist —between Murcia and Lorca. Situated on a very precipitous mountain, and able to accommodate a garrison of twelve or thirteen thousand men, Aledo was regarded as impregnable. Thence it was that the Castilians sallied forth to make raids upon the surrounding districts. They even besieged Almeria, Lorca, and Murcia, and it seemed probable, that if measures were not taken for their defence these towns would fall into the hands of the enemy. Mu'tamid recognised the magnitude of the danger which threatened Andalusia on the east, and that his personal interests were also affected. Murcia and Lorca, the two towns most exposed to attack, belonged to him -the first of right, and the second virtually, since its king, Ibn al Yasa, feeling unable to resist the Castilians of Aledo single-handed, had recognised Mu'tamid as his sovereign in the hope of being aided by him.

Ibn al-Qasira, a diplomat of the Foreign Ministry of Yusuf ibn Tasfin, wrote an official letter regarding Lorca, which is found by Ibn Bassam in his *Dajira*:

Letter directed, by order of al-Mu'tamid, to Ibn Sumâdih, which tells how Christians have taken refuge in the castle of Aledo and remain there, besieged by the Muslims, who in addition to preventing them out have cut water supply to the castle.

Another fragment of the same letter explains the entry of Muslims into Lorca and the excellent state in which they found it thanks to the care of Sa'd al Dawla Ibn al-Asbâg ibn Labbûn⁴.

At Murcia, Ibn Rashik still reigned, and Mu'tamid yearned to punish that rebel. Having therefore determined to make an expedition into the East with the double object of checking the forays of the Christians and reducing Ibn Rashik to submission, the Sevillian monarch united his own troops with those lent him by Yusuf and set out for Lorca. On reaching that town he learned that a squadron of three hundred Castilians was in the neighbourhood.



The kingdoms of Taifas towards 1080.
(CC BY-SA 3.0 – Ahtor: Té y kriptonita)

⁴ **ÁLVAREZ DE MORALES, Camilo** (1977). Ibn al-Qasira: Un diplomático andalusi en la corte de los almoravides. In: Cuadernos de Historia del Islam, Número 8, pp. 85-94. Citation on pp. 91-92.

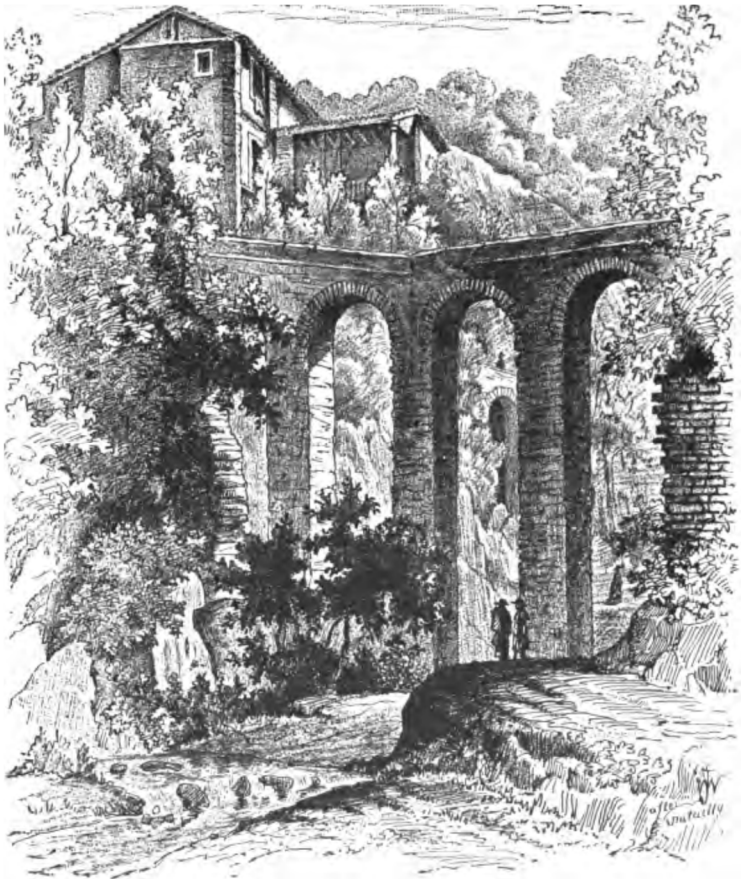
He therefore ordered his son Razi to attack them with three thousand Sevillian horsemen. Razi, however, who loved literature better than warfare, excused himself on the plea of illness. Highly incensed at this refusal, Mu'tamid then entrusted the command to another of his sons, Mu'tadd. Once more was the superiority of Castilians over Andalusians illustrated. Although they outnumbered their foes in the ratio of ten to one, the Sevillans were disgracefully defeated. Nor were Mu'tamid's attempts to reduce Murcia in 1086 more successful. Ibn Rashik contrived to secure the sympathies of the Almoravides in the Sevillian army, and Mu'tamid was obliged to return to his capital without having gained a single advantage. It had thus become evident that the battle of Zallaka in 1086 had left the Andalusians as incapable of self-defence as they had been before that victory, and that if Yusuf did not once more come to their rescue they must finally succumb. Yusuf's palace was therefore besieged by Fakihs and notables from Valencia, Murcia, Lorca, and Baza. The Valencians had a grievance against Rodrigo el Campeador (The Cid), who posed as Kadir's protector after compelling him to pay a monthly subsidy of six thousand ducats, and who laid waste the country round under the pretext of subjugating rebels; the inhabitants of the other towns were eloquent upon the outrages committed by the Castilians of Aledo, and all were agreed that if Yusuf did not come to their aid, Andalusia would inevitably become a prey to the Christians. Their entreaties, however, - seem to have had but little effect upon the Moroccan monarch. Yusuf promised, it is true, to cross the Straits at a favourable season of the year; but he made no serious preparations, and hinted, if he did not openly declare, that he awaited a direct appeal from the princes. This Mu'tamid resolved to make. The suspicions which he had nursed with regard to Yusuf's secret intentions, had been gradually dissipated, or at least weakened. Except in occupying Algeciras, the African monarch had done nothing to wound the susceptibilities of the Andalusian princes or justify their apprehensions; on the contrary, he had often declared that

though before seeing Andalusia he had formed an exalted idea of the beauty and wealth of the country, the reality had disappointed him. Mu'tamid, therefore, was reassured, and since the danger which threatened his country was undoubtedly very great, he determined to pay Yusuf a visit. The Almoravide greeted him with the utmost respect and cordiality, at the same time assuring him that he need not have come personally, but that a letter would have received a prompt reply. "I have come," said Mu'tamid, "to tell you that we are exposed to a grave danger. Aledo lies in the heart of our country, it is impossible for us to wrest it from the Christians, and if you can do so, you will render an immense service to religion. You have already been our deliverer; save us once more." "I can but make the attempt," replied Yusuf, and when Mu'tamid had returned to Seville, the Almoravide hastened his military preparations. When all was ready, he crossed the Straits with his troops, landed at Algeciras in the spring of 1090 [1088⁵], and effecting a junction with Mu'tamid, invited the Andalusian princes to march with them to besiege Aledo. Temim of Malaga, 'Abdallah of Granada⁶, Mu'tasim of Almeria, Ibn Rashik of Murcia, and some minor potentates, responded to the summons and the siege began. The engines of war were constructed by Murcian carpenters and masons, and it was agreed that the Emirs should each in turn attack the fortress for a day.

⁵ According to several Arabic authors the exact year was 1088. (*Rawd al-qirtas*, *al-Hulal al-Mawsiya*, the *Wafayat al-a'yan* and the *Kitab al-iqtifa*) See: **HUICI MIRANDA, Ambrosio** (1954). El sitio de Aledo. In: *Miscelanea de Estudios Ārabes y Hebraicos*, Vol 3, pp. 41-55.

⁶ **ABD ALLAH** (1986). Tibyan. In: [Amin T. Tibi, tr., *The Tibyan: Memoirs of Abd Allah b. Buluggin, last Zirid Amir of Granada* (Brill, 1986)], pp. 1-86.

Poems of Samuel Ha-Nagid, in: *The Dream of the Poem*, tr. Peter Cole (Princeton, 2007), pp. 37-69.



Aqueduct near Granada

Little progress, however, was made: the defenders of Aledo, who numbered thirteen thousand, including a thousand horse, repelled all assaults with vigour, and the fortress proved so strong that the Moslems, after vain attempts to carry it by storm, resolved to starve out the garrison. Meanwhile the besiegers were less concerned about the siege than about their own self-interests. The camp became a hot-bed of intrigue.

Gerard Elmore let us know that “Tudmír was then under control of the king of Taifa Abū Ja‘far b. Rashiq, who had formed a secret alliance with the Christians at the fortress of Aledo. When Yūsuf arrested Ibn Rashiq for his treachery, the people of Murcia not only abandoned the siege of Aledo (refusing any more provisions or workmen for the engines of war used to batter the castle walls), but they began to intercept supply lines and attack the Muslim camp⁷.” The siege lasted several months. When Alfonso VI arrived with a relieving army to help the inhabitants of Aledo, Yusuf retired to Lorca, but King Alfonso found the fortress to all intents indefensible and razed it to the ground.

Yusuf’s ambitions were stimulated in new directions. That monarch had not been sincere in saying that Spain had not answered his expectations. He thought it, in truth, the most desirable of all lands, and whether through mere love of conquest, or for nobler motives -for he had the interests of religion unfeignedly at heart- he longed to become its master. Nor was this desire difficult of realization.

Many Andalusians believed that in union with the Almoravide empire lay the only hope of saving their country. It is true that such was not the opinion of the upper classes of society. In the eyes of men of culture, Yusuf, whose knowledge of Arabic was elementary, was a churl and a barbarian, and it must be admitted that he had given many proofs of his lack of education. When Mu’tamid, for instance, asked him whether he understood the poems recited before him by the Sevillian poets, Yusuf replied: “All I understood was that their composers were in need of bread.” Again, on his return to Africa he had received from Mu’tamid a letter in which these two lines were quoted from a famous poem which Abu ‘l-Walid ibn Zaidun, the Tibullus of Andalusia, had addressed to his inamorata Wallada:

⁷ **ELMORE, Gerard** (2000) *Poised Expectancy: Ibn al-‘Arabi’s Roots in “Sharq al-Andalus”*. In: *Studia Islamica*, N° 90, pp. 51-66. Cited on p. 55

“Whilst thou art far from me, the desire of seeing thee consumes my heart and I weep floods of tears. Now my days are black, yet not long ago thou madest my nights white.” “Doth the king wish me to send him black damsels as well as white ones? ” asked Yusuf. It was then explained to him that “black” signified “ gloomy,” in poetic phraseology, and that by “white” “clear and serene “ was meant.” How beautiful! “ exclaimed Yusuf: “ Tell the king that I have a headache whenever he is out of my sight!” In a land of scholars, like Andalusia, such shortcomings were unpardonable.



Andalusia

Men of letters, moreover, were quite content with their position, and desired no change. The courts of the petty tyrants were so many Academies, and literary men were spoiled children of the princes who lavished luxuries upon them. Nor had the representatives of free-thought any reason for complaint. Thanks to the protection afforded to them by most of the princes, they could for the first time write or say what seemed good to them, without fear of being stoned or burnt. They, therefore, had less reason than any class to desire the rule of

the Almoravides, which would infallibly mean ecclesiastical domination. If, however, Yusuf could count upon but few adherents among the upper and better educated classes, the masses were on his side. Discontent was rife, and not without reason. Almost every considerable town had its Court -an expensive luxury, for most of the emirs were wildly extravagant. It was not as though the populace purchased peace and safety at a high price. The princes, on the contrary, were usually too weak to protect their subjects even from their Moslem neighbours, much less from the Christians. There was therefore neither tranquillity nor security for life and property. Such a state of things was clearly insufferable, and it was but natural that the working classes wished to see it ended. But hitherto no chance of escape from these conditions had presented itself. Vague cravings after revolt were rife, and verses such as these by Somaisir, a Granadan poet, were eagerly listened to:

“What is it, O Kings, that ye dare to do? Ye deliver Islam to its enemies, and put not forth a hand to save. To rebel against you is a duty, since ye make common cause with the Christians. To rid ourselves of your rule is no crime, for ye have rid yourselves of the authority of the Prophet.”

Yet since rebellion would only have made matters worse, there was nothing for it but to cultivate patience, as the same poet pointed out:

“We put our trust in you, O Kings, but ye have falsified our hopes; to you we looked for deliverance, but we looked in vain! Patience! Time will work great changes. To the wise a word sufficeth!”

had come to look upon him as the probable agent of the downfall of his dynasty, and he had often intended to put him to death; but, in the phrase of an Arab historian, “God fettered the hands of the tyrant, that the decrees of destiny might be accomplished.” Now the Kady was with the army which was besieging Aledo, and had many private conferences with Yusuf, for it may be remembered that he was one of the ambassadors who, four years before, had invited the

Almoravide to come to the aid of the Andalusians. The object of these interviews may easily be guessed. Yusuf had scruples of conscience and the Kady sought to overcome them. He therefore pointed out that the Andalusian Fakihs could absolve him from his oath; that it would be easy to obtain from them a *fetwa* enumerating the shortcomings and misdeeds of the princes, and that the conclusion could hence be drawn that they had forfeited their right to the thrones they occupied.

The arguments of this Kady -one of those most renowned for wisdom and piety- made a great impression on Yusuf's mind; on the other hand conversations which he had had with Mu'tasim, King of Almeria, had inspired him with a profound aversion for the most powerful of all the Andalusian princes.

And when dealing with Mu'tasim we must remember Ibn al-Haddad (1030-1088) who was a man of letters, philosopher, mathematician, and Arab-Hispanic musician who distinguished himself as a poet, music theorist, composer, and great lute player. He left his hometown Guadix very young to undertake the required pilgrimage to Mecca, although apparently he did not reach his destination because he fell in love with a religious nun from the monastery of Asyut in Upper Egypt. The christian nun rejected his love, so Al-Haddad returned to Al-Ándalus as secretary of King Taifa Al-Mu'tasim of Almeria.

Later on, differences would arise with the sovereign of Almeria which took him to Murcia and, in June of 1069, to the taifa of Saragossa where he landed in the service of Al-Muqtadir and his son Al-Mu'tamin.

Returning to Mu'tasim, as has been seen, he was an excellent prince; but kind-hearted as he usually was, there was one man whom he hated, namely Mu'tamid. This hatred seems to have arisen from petty jealousy rather than from any real grievances,

but it was none the less bitter, and although Mu'tasim was ostensibly reconciled with the King of Seville, he tried to ruin him. But now an insurrection seemed feasible, since a just, powerful, and illustrious monarch had arrived in Spain who had already gained a brilliant victory over the Christians and who would doubtless gain many more. Surely he was sent by Providence to restore Andalusia to greatness and prosperity. Submission to such a monarch would clearly be the best course, for it would at once relieve the populace of innumerable vexatious taxes. Had not Yusuf abolished in his own territories all imposts which were not prescribed in the Koran? And there was a general impression that he would do likewise in Spain. Thus reasoned the people, and in some respects not unjustly: but they forgot that the government could not for long be carried on without the taxes the abolishment of which they craved; that Andalusia as the ally of Morocco exposed itself to the countershock of revolutions which might break out in that empire; that Almoravide domination would imply the rule of foreigners; and, lastly, that Yusuf's soldiers belonged to a race always detested in Spain, and being ill-disciplined, might turn out to be very inconvenient guests. The desire of change was, moreover, much more keenly felt in some States than in others. In Granada it was the unanimous wish of all the population, Arab and Andalusian, who had never ceased to curse the tyrannical Berbers; but in Mu'tamid's territories there were not so many malcontents; and in Almeria there were scarcely any - for the reigning prince was very popular; he was pious, just, and clement; he treated his people with paternal kindness, and was a ruler endowed with the most attractive virtues. Almost everywhere, however, Yusuf had as supporters the ministers of religion and of the law. These were his most active and devoted auxiliaries, for it was they who had most to lose if the Christians triumphed, and on the other hand they had little cause to love princes who, occupied with profane studies or immersed in pleasures, made light of them, would scarcely listen to their sermons, and openly patronised the philosophers.

Yusuf, on the contrary, who was a model of devoutness, who never failed to consult the divines on affairs of State, and to follow the advice they tendered him, claimed their sympathy and affection. They knew, or at least guessed, that he was sorely tempted to dethrone the Andalusian princes for his own aggrandisement. Yet they thought of nothing except how to stimulate his ambitions, and make him believe that they were sanctioned by religion.

One of the most active of these agitators was the Kady of Granada, Abu Ja'far Kolai'i. Being of Arab origin, he hated the Berber oppressors of his country. His efforts to conceal his sentiments were unsuccessful. By a secret instinct Badis estimation of the African monarch, whose favour he had gained by unworthy means. Mu'tamid, who suspected nothing of this intrigue, talked freely with Mu'tasim when alone with him, and one day when the prince of Almeria expressed his uneasiness at Yusuf's prolonged sojourn in Andalusia, Mu'tamid replied, in a spirit of southern boastfulness, "Doubtless this man is making a long stay in our country; but when he wearies me, I shall have but to lift a finger, and on the morrow he and his soldiers depart. You seem to fear that he will do us some injury; but of what account is this despicable prince or his soldiers? In their own country they were famished beggars; wishing to do them a good turn we invited them to Spain that they might eat their fill; when they are satisfied we will send them back whence they came. Such words became in Mu'tasim's hands, terrible weapons. He reported them to Yusuf, who flew into a violent rage, and what had been a vague project in his mind became a fixed and irrevocable determination. Mu'tasim had triumphed, but little had he foreseen the consequences; "he had not foreseen, as an Arab historian aptly put it," that into the well which he had dug for him whom he hated, he himself would fall, nor that by the sword which he had made to leap from its scabbard he would perish." Such lack of foresight was, indeed, common to all the Andalusian princes.

They mutually accused one another before Yusuf; they made the Almoravide empire in their quarrels; and while the prince of Almeria tried to ruin the ruler of Seville, the latter endeavoured to overthrow the prince of Murcia, Ibn Rashik. With that object he did not cease to remind Yusuf that Ibn Rashik had been Alfonso's ally; that he had rendered great services to the Christians of Aledo; and that apparently he was still doing so. Then, asserting his rights over Murcia, he demanded that the traitor who had deprived him of that town should be delivered up to him. Yusuf ordered the Fakihs to investigate the matter, and when they had decided in Mu'tamid's favour, Yusuf caused Ibn Rashik to be arrested and handed over to the ruler of Seville, forbidding the latter, however, to put him to death. Consequently, Ibn Rashik was put in irons and subjected to great humiliation. An *Amir* sent a message to Murcia to go back to their prince Mu'tamid. The sons of Rashik and relatives disobeyed the *Amir* and put their city in state of defence⁸.



Messenger dove

This arrest had untoward consequences, for the irritated Murcians quitted the camp, and refused henceforth to supply the army with the workmen and provisions of which they had need.

⁸ **‘ABD ALLAH IBN BULUGGIN** (1986). *The Tibyan: Memoirs of ‘Abd Allah B. Bullugin, Last Zirid Amir of Granada*. E.J. Brill, Leiden, p. 122.

The besiegers therefore found themselves in a very mortifying plight” which now that winter was approaching threatened disaster” when it became known that Alfonso was marching to the relief of the fortress with eighteen thousand men. Yusuf at first resolved to meet him in the Sierra de Tirieza (to the west of Totana), and there give Battle; but he soon changed his plan and retired upon Lorca. He declared that he feared that the Andalusians would take to flight again, as they did at Zallaka, and, further, he was convinced that Aledo was no longer capable of defence, and that the Castilians would be obliged to evacuate it. His opinion proved to be well founded; Alfonso, finding the fortifications in ruins and the garrison reduced to about a hundred men, burnt Aledo and conveyed its defenders to Castile.

The object of the campaign had therefore been attained, but ingloriously, for Yusuf had besieged Aledo fruitlessly for four months, and his retreat upon Alfonso’s approach savoured of a flight. The Fakihs, however, took care that his popularity should not suffer. They declared that if the Almoravide had not on this occasion gained a success comparable with his brilliant victory of four years ago, the fault lay with the Andalusian princes, who by their intrigues, jealousies, and interminable quarrels prevented the great soldier from achieving the successes which he would have gained had he been in sole command. The Fakihs, indeed, became more active than ever, and for a good reason, for since their schemes had become known to the princes they began to run serious risks. The Kady of Granada, Abu Ja’far Kolai’i, discovered this to his cost. Whilst in camp his sovereign, whose tent adjoined his own, had got wind of his secret interviews with Yusuf, and had guessed their import. The presence of Yusuf, however, intimidated the Emir, and he did not dare at the time to adopt rigorous measures against the conspirators; but on his return to Granada he sent for the Kady, reproached him with treason, and ordered his guards to put him to death. Fortunately for Abu Ja’far, ‘Abdallah’s mother threw herself at her sons feet and conjured him to spare

so devout a man, and since ‘Abdallah was usually ruled by his mother, he reprieved the Kady, but imprisoned him in a room in the castle. The Kady, who knew that he was surrounded by superstitious persons, began to recite prayers and verses from the Koran. His ringing and powerful voice resounded throughout the palace. Everyone listened to his pious ejaculations; every sound was hushed lest the prisoner should be disturbed, and it was dinned into the prince’s ears that God would inflict on him a terrible punishment if he did not immediately release this model of piety and devoutness. None was more zealous than ‘Abdallah’s mother, and by mingled threats and entreaties she at last persuaded her son to release the prisoner. But the lesson he had received warned the Kady not to remain at Granada. During the darkness of night he escaped to Alcala, and thence proceeded to Cordova. Henceforth he had nothing to fear, and nursed his desire for revenge. He accordingly wrote to Yusuf, depicting in vivid colours the ill-treatment to which he had been subjected, and urging him not to postpone the execution of the project which they had so often discussed. At the same time he communicated with the other Andalusian Kadies and Fakihs, calling upon them for a fetwa denouncing the princes in general, and the two grandsons of Badis in particular.

The Kadies and Fakihs had no hesitation in declaring that the princes of Granada and Malaga had forfeited their rights by their many misdeeds, and especially by the brutal manner in which the elder of the two had treated his Kady; but not venturing to pass so severe a judgment on the other princes, they contented themselves with presenting a petition to Yusuf setting forth that it was his duty to call upon all the Andalusian princes to adhere to the law and to demand no other taxes than those prescribed in the Koran.

Armed with these two fetwas, Yusuf commanded the princes to abolish statute labour and imposts with which they oppressed their subjects, and set out towards Granada with a division of his army, ordering three other divisions to follow him. He did

not actually declare war against ‘ Abdallah, so that the prince could only guess his intentions. Abdallahs terror was extreme. In no respect did he resemble his grandfather, the ignorant but energetic Badis. He had a smattering of learning, expressed himself passably in Arabic, even composed verses, and wrote so beautiful a hand, that a copy of the Koran in his writing was for a long time preserved at Granada. But he was pusillanimous, effeminate, indolent, incapable -a man for whom women had no attraction, who trembled at the sight of a sword, and so infirm of purpose that he sought advice from everybody. At this juncture, ‘Abdallah, assembling his Council, first asked the opinion of the aged Mu’ammil, who had done good service for his grandfather. Mu’ammil tried to reassure him by declaring that Yusuf had no hostile intentions, and advised him to show his confidence in the monarch by going forth to meet him. Then, seeing that this advice was not palatable to ‘Abdallah and that the prince had a leaning towards assuming the defensive, Mu’ammil endeavoured to point out the impossibility of resisting the Almoravides. In this he was right, for ‘Abdallah had but few troops, and mistrusting his best general, the Berber Mokatil el Royo, he had banished him. All the older councillors of the court agreed with Mu’ammil; but ‘Abdallah had misgivings with regard to the old man’s loyalty, and was even inclined to regard him as an accomplice of the perfidious Abu Ja’far, at whose escape he reproached Mu’ammil with conniving. His suspicions were not wholly baseless. It is not certainly known whether he was really acting in Yusuf’s interests, but it is certain that that monarch, who appreciated Mu’ammil’s talents, counted on his support. ‘Abdallah therefore regarded Mu’ammil’s counsel as a snare, and since his young favourites assured him that Yusuf certainly came with evil intentions, he announced that he had decided to meet force with force, and loaded Mu’ammil and his friends with threats and reproaches.

This was imprudent, for he thus alienated them wholly and almost drove them into Yusuf’s arms. Quitting Granada during

the night, they proceeded to Loxa, and seizing that town proclaimed the sovereignty there of the king of the Almoravides. The troops sent against them by ‘Abdallah, however, forced them to surrender and brought them back to Granada, where they were led through the streets like the vilest criminals. Thanks to Yusuf’s intervention they were nevertheless set at liberty. The African monarch peremptorily ordered the prince of Granada to release them, and since the latter did not yet positively know Yusuf’s intentions he dared not disobey. But while ‘Abdallah yet tried to prevent an open rupture, he actively prepared for war. He despatched courier after courier to Alfonso praying him to come to his assistance, and by a lavish expenditure of gold he enrolled in the army a large number of tradesmen, weavers, and artisans of various kinds. His efforts were fruitless.

Alfonso did not respond to his appeal, the Granadans were disaffected, they awaited the arrival of the Almoravides impatiently, and each day a number of citizens quitted the town to join them. In such circumstances resistance was impossible. ‘Abdallah realized this, and on Sunday, November 10, 1090, when Yusuf had arrived within eight miles of Granada, he once more summoned his Council. The assembly declared that he must not think of defence, and ‘Abdallah’s mother, who was present and who, we are assured, had conceived the extravagant idea that Yusuf might marry her, addressed her son thus: “My son, there is only one course open to thee. Go and greet the Almoravide; he is thy cousin, and he will treat thee honourably.” ‘Abdallah therefore set out, accompanied by his mother and a splendid retinue.

The Slav guards marched first, and an escort of Christian horsemen surrounded the prince’s person. All the soldiers wore turbans of the finest cotton, and were mounted upon splendid chargers caparisoned with brocade. On arriving in Yusuf’s presence ‘Abdallah dismounted, and entreated his forgiveness if he had had the misfortune to displease him. Yusuf graciously assured him that any grievances he might have had against him

were forgotten, and begged him to take possession of a tent which he indicated, where he should be treated with all the respect due to his rank. But as soon as ‘Abdallah had set his foot within the tent he found himself fettered. Soon afterwards the principal inhabitants of the city arrived in the camp. Yusuf welcomed them cordially, assuring them that they had nothing to fear, but would be the gainers by the impending change of dynasty. And in fact when they had taken the oath of allegiance he issued an edict abolishing all the taxes not prescribed by the Koran. The Almoravide then entered the city amidst the enthusiastic shouts of the people, and alighted at the palace to inspect the treasures which it contained and which had been amassed by Badis. These were astonishing and innumerable; the halls were adorned with hangings and carpets of immense value; everywhere emeralds, rubies, diamonds, pearls, vases of crystal, gold, or silver dazzled the sight. A single chaplet consisted of four hundred pearls, each of which was valued at a hundred ducats. The Almoravide was astounded by such treasures; before entering Granada he had declared that they belonged to him, but since his ambition exceeded his cupidity, he thought fit to display his generosity by dividing them among his officers without keeping anything for himself. It was, however, known that the palace contained more wealth than met the eye, and that Abdallah’s mother had buried many precious objects. She was forced to reveal the hiding places, and since it was suspected that she had not made full disclosure Yusuf ordered Mu’ammil “whom he had appointed Steward of the Palace and of the Crown Lands “to excavate the foundations and even the sewers of the edifice.

These events would have furnished a reasonable excuse to the Andalusian princes for breaking entirely with Yusuf. But they did nothing of the kind. On the contrary, Mu’tamid and Mutawakkil repaired to Granada to congratulate the Almoravide, and Mu’tasim sent his son ‘Obaidallah as his representative. With inexplicable blindness Mu’tamid flattered himself with the hope that Yusuf would cede Granada to his

son Razi, in compensation for having seized Algeciras. No one who deemed the African capable of ceding territory knew that potentate! Yusuf soon showed him the gravity of the error. He received the Emirs with icy coldness, and his only response to Mu'tamid's hint concerning Granada was to throw Mu'tasim's son into prison. Such conduct could not fail to open the eyes of the princes. Mu'tamid became greatly disquieted. "We committed a grievous error, he said, "in inviting this man to our country; he will give us to drink of the cup which Abdallah has been compelled to drain." Then, on the pretext that they had received tidings that the Castilians were once more threatening their frontiers, the two princes requested permission to withdraw, and having obtained it, hastened to their own States; they then advised the other Emirs to concert measures for defending themselves against the Almoravides, whose plans were now patent to all. This step was crowned with success. The Emirs banded themselves together not to supply the Almoravides with troops or provisions, and they further decided to form an alliance with Alfonso.



Algeciras

Yusuf himself returned to Algeciras, intending to sail for Africa and leave to his generals the odious task of dethroning the Andalusian princes. On his way he wrested Adalla's brother, a wholly insignificant prince, and warned the Fakihs that the decisive moment had come for the issue of a very explicit fetwa. This was speedily forthcoming. It declared that the Andalusian princes were impious profligates; that by their bad example they had corrupted the people and made them indifferent to sacred things" witness their slackness in attendance at divine service; that they had levied illegal taxes, and had maintained them in spite of Yusuf's prohibition; that, as a climax to their iniquities, they had allied themselves with the King of Castile, an implacable foe of the true faith; and that, consequently, they were incapable of reigning any longer over Moslems; that Yusuf was absolved from all pledges he had made to them, and that it was not only his right but his duty to dethrone them without delay." We take it upon ourselves," they said in conclusion, "to answer before God for this decision. If we err, we consent to pay the penalty in another world, and we declare that you, Emir of the Moslems, are not responsible therefore; but we firmly believe that the Andalusian princes, if you leave them in peace, will deliver our land to the infidels, and in that case you must account to God for your inaction." Such was the tenour of this memorable fetwa, which also contained accusations aimed at particular princes. Even Rumaykiyya was named in it; she was accused of having dragged her husband into a vortex of dissipation, and of being the chief cause of the decadence of religion.

The fetwa was of the highest value to Yusuf, but to endow it with still greater authority, he procured its approval by his African Fakihs, and then sent it to the most eminent doctors of Egypt and Asia in order that they might confirm the opinions of the Western divines. The Eastern ecclesiastics might well have avowed themselves incompetent to meddle with matters of which they knew nothing; but they did quite otherwise: their pride was agreeably flattered by the idea that there was a

country where men of their profession disposed of thrones, and the most renowned among them -the great Ghazali at their head- did not hesitate to express their entire approval of the Andalusian Fakihs' decision. They moreover addressed letters of counsel to Yusuf, urging him to govern justly and not to stray from the right path -in other words to follow always the counsels of theologians⁹.

In 1091 Al-Mu'tamid was taken into captivity by the Almoravids and exiled to Aghmat, Morocco where he died in 1095. His grave is located in the outskirts of Aghmat¹⁰.

The poet-king was banished to the arid desert village of Aghmat, near Marrakech, situated in the most elevated and dramatic mountain range of the High Atlas. There, al-Mu'tamid dragged out a pitiful existence in utter destitution, tormented by the sight of his wife and daughters spinning wool for paltry sums. Poetry was his only solace. The elegies written at Aghmat recall his former greatness, his massacred sons and his splendid palaces and court life. Al-Mu'tamid admitted that he had erred in summoning Ibn Tashufin to al-Andalus. "In so doing," he said, "I dug my own grave." On his first 'Id al-Fitr in captivity, he wrote, in abject misery¹¹:

*In days gone by the festivals made thee joyous,
But sad is the festival which findeth thee a captive at Aghmat.
Thou seest thy daughters clothed in rags and dying of hunger;
They spin for a pittance, for they are destitute.
Worn with fatigue, and with downcast eyes, they come to
embrace thee.
They walk bare-footed in the mire of the streets,
Who once trod on musk and camphor!
Their hollow cheeks, furrowed with tears, attest their poverty....*

⁹ **DOZY, Reinhart** (1913) Spanish Islam. Translated with a biographical introduction and additional notes by Francis Griffin Stokes, pp. 699-712.

¹⁰ **LISAN AL DIN IBN AL KHATIB** (14th-century). Nafadhat al-jirab (the Ashtray of the Socks). p. 9.

¹¹ **ESBER, Rose M.** (1993). The Poet-King of Seville. In: Saudi Aramco World, Vol. 44, N° 1, p. 12-18.

*Just as on the occasion of this sad festival—
God grant that thou mayest never see another! –
Thou hast broken thy fast, so has thy heart broken hers:
Thy sorrow, long restrained, bursts for afresh.
Yesterday, when thou spakest the word all men obeyed;
Now thou art at the beck of others.
Kings who glory in their greatness are dupes of a vain dream!*

Al-Mu'tamid greeted rumors of insurrection in al-Andalus with hope and joy, but they earned him only the additional humiliation of chains.

*Strange that these irons do not glow
And singe the hands of these villains,
For fear of him, upon whose grace
Courageous men depended, and whose sword
Sent some to heaven and some to hell.*

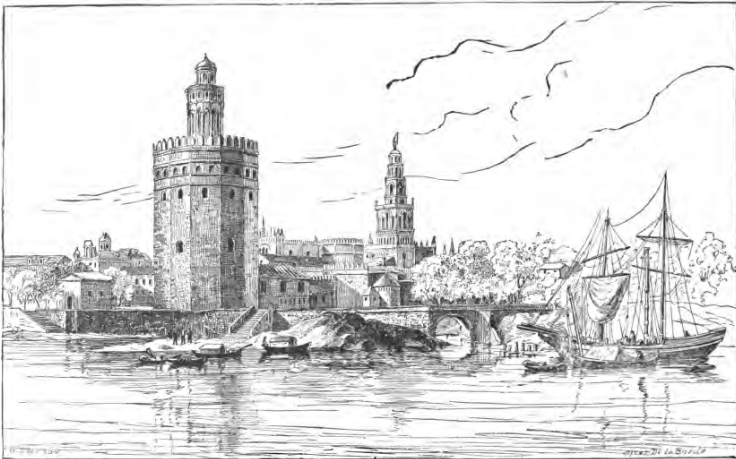
Languishing in fetters, forgotten and ill, al-Mu'tamid was finally overwhelmed with grief after the death of his beloved I'timad. In 1095, at the age of 55, he succumbed, dying in exile at Aghmat. He was the last of the native-born Andalusian kings, and he brilliantly represented a magnificent culture. His chivalry, liberality and courage endeared him to succeeding generations. "Everyone loves al-Mu'tamid," wrote historian Ibn al-Abbar more than a century later, "everyone pities him, and even now he is lamented."

The dramatic twists of al-Mu'tamid's life, which took him to triumphant kingship in Seville and then to the bitterness of African exile, are legendary, and they remain a poignant metaphor for the spectacular rise and fall of al-Andalus.

*All things come to an end,
Even death itself dies the death of things.*

*Destiny is chameleon-colored,
Its very essence is transformation.
In its hands we are like a game of **chess**,
And the king may be lost for the sake of a pawn.
So shake off the world, and find repose,
For earth turns to desert, and men die.
Say to this lowly world: the secret of the
Higher world lies hidden at Aghmat...'*

-Al-Mu'tamid, King of Seville



The Golden Tower, Seville

2.1.2 Aledo

In 1085 a Castillian army advanced, plundering to within a league of Granada and, though the inhabitants came out to meet it, retired unharmed with its booty. A party of eighty Castillians, cut off by four hundred picked soldiers from Almeria, had succeeded in utterly defeating them. The district of Lorca and Murcia was terrorised by the garrison of the fortress of Aledo, where Garcia Ximenez, a brave knight, had established himself

as a vassal of the King of Castille. In the north Alfonso himself had vowed to take Saragossa, and there is evidence to shew that he actually began the siege.



Alfonso VI conquers Toledo in 1085

Whether the Cid¹² appeared in arms against him or withdrew for a time from the service of the Beni Hud we do not know¹³. Abu

¹² **BARTON, Simon & FLETCHER, Richard** (2001). *Historia Roderici*. In: *The World of the Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest* (Manchester), pp. 90-147.

WRIGHT, Roger (1979). *The first poem of the Cid – The Carmen Campi Doctoris*, ed. Roger Wright, *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* (Liverpool), pp. 213-217.

The Poem of the Cid, tr. Hamilton (Penguin, 1975), pp. 23-117.

BARTON, Simon (2000). "Traitors to the Faith? Christian Mercenaries in al-Andalus and the Maghreb, c 1100-1300", in *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict and Coexistence. Studies in Honour of Angus MacKay*, ed R Collins and A. Goodman, pp. 23-45.

Muhammad ‘Abd al-Djalil b. Wahbun of Murcia (1039-1087), a leading poet at the court of al-Mu’tamid, lost his life in Aledo in the hands of a band of men from the Aledo garrison on his way from Lorca to Murcia in 1087¹⁴.

This poet born in Murcia probably around 435/1044, came from a family of humble origin. He went to seek his fortune at Seville, was a pupil of al-A’lam al-Shantamari, and became friends with the vizier and poet Ibn ‘Ammar. He later became one of the official panegyrists of al-Mu’tamid. He had the courage to write a poem on the occasion of Ibn ‘Ammar’s death in which he wrote¹⁵:

‘Tis strange! I shed floods of tears for his loss, and yest I must
exclaim: May the right hand of him who slew him be never blasted!

Prof. Alois Richard Nykl (1885-1958) translated the work of Muhammad b Abd al-Malik Ibn Quzman (1078-1160) in 1946. Al-Wahbun figures in this work¹⁶.

2.1.3 Ibn Wahbun

Ibn Wahbun [‘Abd al-Galil al-Mursi] was a favorite poet at the court of Al-Mu’tamid, and a friend of Ibn ‘Ammar, at whose death he composed an elegy. No exact dates as to his birth or death are available (we observed 1087, 1090 and 1104), but judging from Ibn Haqan’s introductory remarks about him he was considered to be one of the outstanding poets of the second half of the XIth century. In connection with his death Ibn

¹³ BUTLER CLARKE, H. (1897). *The Cid campeador*, London-New York, p. 161.

¹⁴ ‘ABD ALLAH IBN BULUGGIN (1986) *The Tibyan: Memoirs of ‘Abd Allah B. Bullugin, Last Zirid Amir of Granada*. E.J. Brill, Leiden, p. 122

¹⁵ IBN KHALLIKAN (1868) *Ibn Khallikan’s Biographical Dictionary*, Volume 3, p. 127

¹⁶ NYKL, Alois Richard (1946) *Hispano-arabic Poetry and Its Relations With the Old Provençal Troubadours*

Hafaga tells a story recorded in the *Qala'id* and dated beginning of 483/April, 1090 in Anal., II, 215. Abu Ga'far ibn Rasiq is said to have attacked Murcia at that time, and stray groups of armed men made the roads unsafe. Ibn Hafaga met Ibn Wahbun between Murcia and Lorca, where they spent the night, and on the following morning set out with a caravan to continue their journey to an unnamed destination. probably Murcia. Ibn Wahbun showed signs of great anxiety and fear like the rest of the travelers, and Ibn Hafaga tried to distract him by poetic exercises in *tadyil* and *igaza* (improvising whole verses or hemistichs). In the end Ibn Wahbun became so nervous that he could not distinguish between correct prosody and poetic license. A bad omen appeared in two heads of deceased hermits dangling in the air from two rocky *mashads*. Ibn Hafaga improvised a distich and Ibn Wahbun quickly added three verses using the words *qatil* (killed) and *salib* (made captive). Hardly had he finished when a group of armed horsemen attacked the caravan: Ibn Wahbun was killed and Ibn Hafaga was made captive. It was a case of a strange premonition. We might add that Ibn Hafaga does not mention this incident in his *diwan*, contrary to what is stated by Al-Maqqari: *sahabtu fi sadri min Al-Garb* (on my journey from the West I travelled with, etc.). It is mentioned in the *Bada'i*. I am not certain that my description of the *mashads* is correct. The distich which first attracted Al-Mu'tamid's attention to him is the following:

1. Good faith is gone, so that you can't find it
In anyone, nor does it ever occur to people:
2. It became invisible like the '*anqa*' bird,
Or like the tale about one thousand *mitqals*!

He was alluding to the story of a king who rewarded his poet with that sum of money. When Al-Mu'tamid heard this, he had Ibn Wahbun called to his presence, and gave him one thousand *mitqals*, so that the poet could henceforth say that the story concerning which he had expressed doubts, was true (Anal., II,

157-158), and gave him an additional thousand *mitqals*. From then on he became the king's *nadim* (boon companion), and would often improvise verses of *tadyil* (Anal, II, 484) to his master's verses. Knowing that Al-Mu'tamid considered Al-Mutanabbi as "the king of poets," he scored a great success one evening, when the king was expressing his admiration for a verse (De Slane I, 107; Anal., II, 131) of the great Syrian poet, by improvising a distich saying that Al-Mutanabbi, infatuated with his own poetry, thought himself to be a prophet, but had he known that Al-Mu'tamid would recite it, he would have deemed himself to be a God."

In the *Qala'id* thirteen of his poetical compositions are given, mostly short ones and of the genre *wasf*; the best of these is the description of two candles whose light was reflected in the dark waves of the Guadalquivir, as the poet was sailing in a small boat. This distich is also quoted in *Anal.*, I, 435, together with the description of a sunset. *Ibid.*, p. 461, there is a description of a fleet; pp. 610- 612, description of falcons and of a silver figure of an elephant on the bank of a pool, together with four distichs (*maqati'*) by the vizier Abu Bakr ibn Milh. In *Anal.*, II. 182, we are told that Ibn Wahun improvised a distich praising the beauty of the young Abu Bakr ibn al-Qabturnuh as they were viewing the crescent of the month of Sawwal. The death of the poet in the circumstances related above, could not have occurred in 480/1087 as stated in Ibn Khallikan., but rather in the beginning of 488/April 1090, as stated in *Anal.*, II, p. 215. *Ibid.*, p. 686, we read that Ibn Wahbun was present when Al-Mu'tamid returned from the battlefield of Zallaka in triumph. The poet had a *qasida* ready to recite, but refrained from doing so, because the words of the Qur'an, sura IX. 40: "If ye assist not (your Prophet) . . . God assisted him formerly." recited by a Qur'an reader, expressed the idea he had put into his verses more forcefully. Péres. pp. 101-102 gives a partial translation of the poem recorded in the *Qala'id*, pp. 14-15.

Among his poems of praises some extol the beauty of a young man, with whom Ibn Wahbun is reported to have been infatuated, and which remind one of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi’s amorous attachment. He calls him Rabi’ (spring), obviously a fictitious name. Ibn Wahbun expressed his admiration for the youth’s beauty in a distich. Anal., II, 239 and 418, cites a description of a beautiful spring day alternately by Abu Bakr and Ibn Sāra:

1. This plain is a virgin whose eloaks are
Robes of the spring adorned with flower blossoms;
- 2. *It seems that the sky is its lover made thin***
By all sorts of pains and woes of love:
When he (the lover) complains, the lightning is his
throbbing heart,
And when he weeps, his tears are the copious rains:
Because of the brightness of the former, and
The latter’s humility, the raincloud weeps, the flowers
smile.

‘Abd al-Jalīl ibn Wahbūn of Murcia wrote some verses which are quoted by al-Maqqarī after Ibn Zāfir (who, in turn, cited them from Ibn Bassām). The verses contain a description of an elephant fountain decorating the pool of a palace belonging to the ‘Abbāsīd al-Mu‘tamīd in Seville:

“Ibn Bassām says: There was in the palace of al-Mu‘tamīd a silver elephant on the rim of a pool, jetting forth water, and ‘Abd al-jalīl ibn Wahbūn says this about it in a certain kasida:

He vomits water into it like a award-blade, a paragon of elephants who does not complain of nausea.

He has grazed on grasses of silver, which have become solid, so that you can see how little he fears emaciation¹⁷.”

¹⁷ **BARGEBUHUR, Frederick P.** (1956). The Alambra Palace of the Eleventh Century. In: Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Vol. 19, N° 3-4, pp. 192-258. Citation on p. 235

Fate's Malignity

Through the weary nights I strain
My high purpose to attain:
Had my moon but favoured it,
Even Saturn must submit.

In the mirage of the waste
Oft that glitter I embraced;
Oft I glimpsed those sombre eyes
In the overshadowed skies.

Whence derives my wretched luck?
Lo, my arm shrinks not to pluck
At the heights; no idle word
Ever on my lips is heard.

Nay, the fault ascribed to me
Is my fate's malignity:
Shall the sword be held to blame
When the coward muffs his aim?¹⁸

2.1.4 Abu Ya'far b. Yury

Ibn Wahbûn and Abû Ya'far b. Yury have in common the fact that both were from the region of Murcia. In case of the latter, Ibn Bassâm simply inserted him into the third part of his anthology, dedicated it to the Levante of al-Andalus, and picked up an epistolary from Abû Ya'far b. Yury directed to Ibn Tâhir, the Sir of Murcia, congratulating him on being released into freedom

¹⁸ **IBN SA'ID** (1953). Moorish Poetry. Translated by A.J. Arberry.

2.1.5 Abu Ali al-Sadafi (Also known as Ibn Sukkara)

However, he who stands out in that time is Abu Ali Al-Sadafi (1052-1120), a person on whom all studies of Muslim Murcia are centralized in the twelfth century. This personage was a native of Zaragoza and his name appears to be of Latin origin; he studied and was educated there, hearing the teachings of the most renowned teachers of Valencia and Almeria. With the acquired knowledge he moved to the East In 1088, making the pilgrimage to Mecca, crossing Basra, Baghdad, Damascus, and Egypt. There he met Abubeker The Tortuxi, author of an advice book called “*Sirach to Moluc*” or *Prince Torch*. He studied in Baghdad, where he lived for five years, with the most famous people of that town. Back in Spain he was devoted to education of various social groups and settled in Murcia indefinitely in 1098. There he gained a public seat, and people began to see him from all over Spain. They were of any condition and came for the fame of the traditions and methods of his scientific wisdom. The Islamic influence of Murcia was notable at the time all over the Peninsula as a center of culture and people flocked to this town from all the regions of Spain and even from abroad. Murcia was so important that there is even a book containing three hundred fifteen biographies of many other personalities who were prominent in the Murcian Islamic life. Some of those biographies mention Abu Ali. It was said that he was wise, excelling at the science of traditions and method. He had a beautiful handwriting and extraordinary memory: he was an honest, pious, affable man and was put forward for the office of Khadi of Murcia, finding no other way to renounce than to hide. So he remained hidden for two years to avoid the concerns of this profession. Thereafter he continued dedicating his efforts to his studies and teachings. About the memory of this man it

was said that it was prodigious, and occasionally he would recite the complete text of any page of Al-Koran¹⁹.

The book containing three hundred fifteen biographies of prominent Murcian personalities to which Ángel Gonzalez Palencia reverts in his study was written by Francisco Codera and Zaydín and based on the manuscript of Ibn Al-Abbar²⁰. Anyway Although not indicating sources in his study, Gonzalez Palencia was well aware of the biography of many Murcian persons since he also worked on a supplement of the editions of Codera and Zaydín²¹.

¹⁹ **GÓNZALEZ PALENCIA, Ángel** (1957) *Primera conferencia. Árabes murcianos ilustres*. Murcia, Sucesores de Nogués, Publicación de la Academia Alfonso X el Sabio

GÓNZALEZ PALENCIA, Ángel (1957) *Árabes murcianos ilustres*. In: Murgetana, Nº 10, pp. 9-43

FUENTE, Cristina de la (1998) *Vivre et mourir pour Dieu, oeuvre et héritage d'Abu Al-Sadafi (m. 514/1120)*. In: Studia Islamica, Nº 88, pp. 77-102

²⁰ - Ibn Al-Abbar (Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Abi Bakr Al-Quda T Al-Andalusi, Ibn Al-Abbar 595-568/1199-1260): Al-Mu'yam fi ashab al-qada al-imam Abi' Ali As-Sadafi, ed. ár. de **CODERA Y ZAYDÍN, Francisco**: Almochar (Dictionarium ordine alphabetico) de discipulis Abu Ali Assadafi ab Aben Al-Abbar scriptum ad fidem codicis escurialensis arabice nunc primum edidit, indicibus additis, Madrid, 1886, 368 + XIX pp. [315 biografías]

²¹ - Ibn Al-Abbar (Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Allah Ibn Abi Bakr Al-Quda T Al-Andalusi, Ibn Al-Abbar 595-658/1199-1260): *Kitāb at-Takmilat li-Kitab as-sila*, ed. ár. de **CODERA Y ZAYDÍN, Francisco**: *Bibliotheca Arābico-Hispana. Vols. V y VI. Complementum Libri Assilah (Dictionarium Biographicum) ab Aben Al-Abbar scriptum. Partem, quae superest, ad fidem codicis escurialensis arabice nunc primum edit, indicibus additis*, Madrid, 1887-1889, 2 vols. [Vol. I, 1887, 412 pp.; biographies 1-1185 / vol. II, 1 889, XIV, 413-964 pp.; biographies 1186-2152]. Correcciones a la anterior ed. de F. CODERA, y ed. de una parte suplementaria, aparecida en un nuevo ms., por Maximiliano ALARCÓN; Ángel GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA: «Apéndice a la edición Codera de la "Tecnica" de Aben Al-Abbar», *Miscelánea de Estudios y Textos Árabes*, Madrid, 1915, pp. 147-690 [biographies 2153-2982]. Ed. ár. de nuevas

2.1.6 Ibn Tahir

When Valencia became besieged by al-Hajib of Lerida in 1088, Al-Kadir in a fruitless exit lost heavily both in men and arms and, being compelled to daily give battle to the besiegers, soon found himself at his wit's end. Now eager to surrender, he summoned a Council of the leading magnates and citizens. And then it was that Ibn Tahir, ex-King of Murcia who on being dethroned by Motamid's general in 1078 had taken refuge in Valencia and lived there ever since, encouraged the pusillanimous Al-Kadir not to make unfavourable terms with the besieger and, by placing his treasure at the other's disposal, enabled the defence to be continued. Ibn Tahir's counsel turned out to be good enough for al-Kadir to remain king for a few more years in Valencia²².

2.1.7 Lorca

Al-Mu'tamid still owned Lorca. Sa'd al-Dawla ibn Lubkun died shortly after the battle of Sagrjas in 1086. Al-Mu'tamid had appointed another governor by the name of Abu-l-Hassan ibn **al-Yas'**. Conde²³ mentions Abu Hassan ben Elisa as King of Lorca in 1091 (h. 464). He was (with several members of his family) an assiduous cultivator of the tuneful art.

biografías de un ms. de Argel por: Alfred BEL; M. BEN CHENEB: *Kitāb at-Takmilat li-Kitab as-Sila = Takmila-t-essila d'Ibn el-Abbār (Texte arabe d'après un manuscrit de Fes). Tome I. (Complétant les deux volumes edités par F. Codera)*, Argel, 1337/1919 (1920), 466 + 22 pp [652 biographies in total]. Nueva ed. ár. De 'A. AL-'ATTAR AL-HUSAYNÍ: *At-Takmilat li-Kitab as-Sila*, El Cairo, 1955-1956/1375, 2 vols. [Vol. I, 1955/1375 H., 351 pp.; biographies

1-1292/vol. II, 1956/1375 H., pp. 468-944; biogr. 1293-2188]

²² **MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, Ramón** (1934) *The Cid and His Spain*. Translated from Spanish by H. Sutherland, London: John Murray

²³ **CONDE, José Antonio** (1820) *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en España*, Volume II. (In the first pages)

Abul-Hasan Jaafar Ibn Ibrahim Ibn al Hajj al-Lurki was an important poet of Lorca who was also at the court of Al-Mu'tamid. The Kitab states that Abu 'l-Hasan Jaafar Ibn Ibrahim Ibn al-Hajj al-Lurki said of them:

Mourn for the world and for the death of beneficence, since beneficence subsists not in the family of Abbad! I passed three months with them as a visitor, yet never obtained a dinner; I then left hem and received no provisions for my journey²⁴.

Al-Jajj was a distinguished poet and prose writer who belonged to an eminent family, some members of which rose to the rank of vizir. In his youth addicted to wine and pleasure, he reformed his life and passed the remainder of his days in ascetism and self-restraint.

Seeing that he was not lucky there, he went to Almeria until the invasion of the Almoravides. We learn from the author of the Kharidah that the poet al-Lurki survived al-Mu'tamid by many years and gives numerous specimens of his poetry²⁵. In another work of Khallikan we learn that Ahmad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Khalaf, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Binni al-Yamori, was expelled from Majorca by the governor of the island. He wrote a section which contains the passage on hospitality, guests, vaingloriousness, and eulogy. The author inserts the following verses, which were pronounced by Abu 'l-Hasan Jaafar Ibn Ibrahim Ibn al-Hajj al-Lurki:

Admire (*in me*) a man who seeks for praise, through he avoids giving away anything of his own, and who directs (*lit. who opens*) his hopes towards renown, though he does not open his hand. Why should I not

²⁴ **IBN KHALLIKAN** (1868). Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary, Volume III, p. 188 and 203.

²⁵ **IBN KHALLIKAN** (1967) *Wafayat Al-a 'yan Wa Anba' Abna' Al-zaman*, Volume 5, Pakistan Historical Society, p. 68

like the (*presence of a*) guest, and hasten with joy to receive him, if he eats of his own provisions, and praises me for my hospitality?²⁶

One observes that now al-Lurqi was changed to al-Lurki, but it must have been the same person.

Odi et Amo

There is one I love,
Yet I know nothing of
What with his repose
He does, or where he goes.

I detest him, though
I still desire him so,
Like the hoary hair
You hate, yet: cannot Spare.

Clemency

The more he strives to injure me
The greater is my clemency:
So when the wick is cut, its light
Shines all the clearer through the night.

The Beard

A moon at full: indeed
Your beauty shone unclouded,
Until the nights decreed
Its lustre should be shrouded.

The down appearing, ‘So’
I cried, ‘fond love removeth,
And yonder monstrous crow
Its sad departure proveth.’²⁷

²⁶ **IBN KHALLIKAN** (1871). *Ibn Khalikan’s Biographical Dictionary*, volume 4, p. 584.

²⁷ **IBN SA’ID** (1953). *Moorish Poetry*. Translated by A.J. Arberry.

2.1.8 Jumilla

The village of Jumilla does not appear in the Muslim historical texts before the 13th century. It is in 1081 when the *hisn of Yumaya*²⁸ is mentioned for the first time. In the famous campaign of Ibn Ámmar by lands of Murcia in 474 (1081-1082) Abu Bakr Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz seized the castle of Jumilla (Yumilla)²⁹.

Strangely enough, there is little historical information about Jumilla in the Muslim period and the different archeological findings are a proof that Jumilla must have been a very important village in those years:

We know the Muslim settlement of the area in the 8th to 11th centuries by the necropolis of *La Rinconada de Olivares*, where the two rituals, Christian and Muslim, have been documented and by the presence of more than five hundred graves, located one kilometer to the north of the current population of Jumilla. We also know the population of the following 10th to 12th centuries by another necropolis. This time it deals with the necropolis of Huerto Terreno and the nearby site of the church of Santa Maria del Rabal, both located in the western part of the urban site. In this case all burials are of the Muslim rite, and with almost three hundred burials this place will possibly be the largest necropolis in the area.

(.....)

The question that arises is how an important population such as the Muslim Jumilla, with such a large necropolis does not appear in neither the Muslim nor the Christian historical sources, since the first written reference that we have of the hisn Jumilla dates back to 1081³⁰.

²⁸ **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso** (1991) *Datos para la historia árabe de Jumilla*. In: Libro de las fiestas de Moros y Cristianos de Jumilla, Jumilla, p. 52

²⁹ **IBN AL-ABBAR**, al-Hulla al-Siyara, II, p. 155: Takmila, II, p. 504, N° 1385 y p. 585, N° 1157. Cited by **VALLVÉ BERMEJO, Joaquín**. (1972). División territorial en la España Musulmana (II). La cora de «Tudmir» (Murcia). In: *Al-Andalus* 1, pp. 145-190. Citation on p. 178

³⁰ **HERNÁNDEZ CARRIÓN, Emiliano & SIMÓN GARCÍA, José Luis** (2015) *El Castillo de Jumilla: Historia de un Centinela*. Jumilla, p. 67

2.1.9 Aguilas

The geographer Al-Bakri (1040-1094) mentions an itinerary: Departing from Oran you reach a good anchorage 'Ain al-Farruy. It could be the “Fuente del Gallo”, from which Aqila (Aguilas), the port of Lorca, is three days on the opposite coast³¹.

³¹ **BAKRI, Abu ‘Ubayd al** (1913) *Description de l’Afrique septentrionale*. Edited and translated by SLANE, M.G. de (1913), Argel, p. 164. Cited by **GARCÍA ANTÓN, José** (1980) *Le Región de Murcia en tiempos del Islam*. In: Historia de la Región Murciana, Volume III, pp. 52-53

3 1091-1147 ALMORAVID DOMAIN

3.1 1092-1108 Abd Allah Muhammad Aysa

Some years later, the general Seyr Ibn Abí Bekr attacked the Beni Tāhir in the eastern parts of Andalus. Having advanced upon Murcia, where [‘Abdu-r-rahmān] Ibn Tāhir was ruling at the time, he invested that city with all his forces, and compelled that chieftain to surrender the place to him and cross over to Africa. The taking of Murcia happened in the month of Shawwāl of the year 484 (A. D. 1091)³².

The kingdom of Murcia was one of the first districts of the Peninsula to be conquered by the Almoravids. Murcia was taken for Yusuf Ibn. Tasfin in Shawwal 484 (Nov.-Dec. 1091) by the Lamtunian general Ibn ‘A’isha who then seized Denia and Jativa. Ibn ‘A’isha remained governor in Murcia³³. Years later a new mosque³⁴ was built and Magribi in his *Dikr bilad al-Andalus* said in this respect³⁵: “It has a large spacious Great Mosque, built beautifully by the Emir of the Muslims Ali b. Yusuf b. Tasfin”.

³² **IBN MOHAMMED AL-MAKKARÍ**, Ahmed (1843). The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain: extracted from the *Nafhu-t-tib min ghosni-l-Andalusi-r-Rattib wa Tāriq h Lisānu-d-Dín Ibni-l-khattīb* / by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-Mallari; Translated from the copies in the Library of the British Museum and illustrated with critical notes on the History, Geographi and antiquities of Spain by Pascual de Gayangos. Volume II, p. 296.

³³ **HOUTSMA, M. Th.** (1936) *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: a Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography, and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples*. E.J. Brill and Luzac & Co., 1913-1936, Volume VI, p. 733

³⁴ **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, A.** (2000) *La expropiación forzosa por ampliación de mezquita en tres fetuas medievales*. In: Seminario l’urbanisme dans l’occident musulman au moyen âge: aspects juridiques, pp. 144-152

³⁵ **MOLINA MARTÍNEZ, Luis** (1983) *Una descripción anónima de Al-Andalus*, Madrid, 2 vols, p. 145

A group of Valencian nobles, led by Qadi Ibn Yahhaf, offered Abu Abd Allah Muhammad Aysa the government of the Taifa of Valencia if he could dethrone Al-Qadir, but after attacking Denia and Xativa in 1092 he failed. Nor could he liberate the city of Valencia during the siege of the city that fell into the hands of the Cid in 1102.

He led his Almoravid army together with Abdallah ibn Fatima, Governor of Valencia, to the victory of the Battle of Uclés in 1108.

The Battle of Uclés was fought on 29 May 1108 near Ucles just south of the river Tagus between the Christian forces of Castile and Leon under Alfonso VI and the forces of the Muslim Almoravids under Tamim ibn-Yusuf. The battle was a disaster for the Christians and many of the high nobility of León, including seven counts, died in the fray or were beheaded afterwards, while the heir-apparent, Sancho Alfónsez, was murdered by villagers while trying to flee. Despite this, the Almoravids could not capitalise on their success in the open field by taking Toledo. Tamim, leading the forces of Granada, set out for Jaén on early May, 1108. There he met the forces of Córdoba, and they continued together to Chinchilla, where they were joined by the force of Murcia and Valencia under Muhammad ibn Aysa and Abdallah ibn Fatima, their respective governors. They marched on Uclés, which offered no resistance and was captured on 27 May. The Almoravids then spread out, sacking other Christian settlements in the valley of the Tagus, while the inhabitants fled. The garrison of Uclés meanwhile took refuge in the *Alcázar*.

The Christians arrived near Uclés and set up camp on 28 May. Tamim assembled his force with the Córdobaans under Muhammad ibn Abi Ranq in front, his own Granadans behind them; the Valencians and Murcians made up the flanks. Battle was joined the next day with a Christian cavalry charge. Though initially successful against the Córdobaans, the charging

Christians were quickly surrounded while engaging the Granadans and the main force retreated to their camp. The Murcians and Valencians meanwhile attacked the baggage. The infantry was dispersed; the cavalry was caught in their own camp and slaughtered. Sancho, his horse killed and with a small force of seven of his own men, escaped and fled towards Belinchón, but was killed by his Muslim subjects, who took advantage of the battle to revolt.



Callosa de Segura near to Orihuela

Since the subsequent disaster engulfed nearly the entire Christian army, the Murâbit General Tamin did not exaggerate

too greatly when he reported to his brother, the Emir Ali, that 3,000 Christian heads were taken³⁶.

3.1.1 Disciples of Abu Ali Al-Sadafi

Abu Ali Al-Sadafi (1052-1120) had several disciples. Abenasaffar, from Orihuela, a noticeable traditionalist and father of Abuanerin, who served in that city the office of mayor of the pious alms or legacies; Ismail, son of Isa, son of Fadl, a native of Murcia, who after serving the precept of the pilgrimage in the East had established himself in Murcia in 1102 where he had many disciples.

There was another persona by the name of The Roseti [read al-Rusâti] from Orihuela. He was one of the most advanced disciples of Abuali Al Sadafi. Eastern biographers had great difficulty clarifying his lineage. He published a book about pedigrees of the companions of the Prophet and the most renowned traditionalists in the oriental manner with the letters of surnames. This work was much celebrated and collected with great zeal by his disciples, among them the famous Abubeker Aben Tofail, quoted by St. Thomas and Alberto Magno. Abubeker Aben Tofail (Tufayl) had the spiritual formation from this distinguished son of Orihuela by the name of The Roseti (Rusati). The Roseti also wrote some books in which he defends the criticism that caused his works. Among his pupils was the famous Abubeker Aben Tofail³⁷.

³⁶ **REILLY, Bernard F.** (1988) *The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VI*. Chapter 17: The Ultimate Crisis (1108-1109)

³⁷ **GÓNZALEZ PALENCIA, Ángel** (1957) *Primera conferencia. Árabes murcianos ilustres*. Murcia, Sucesores de Nogués, Publicación de la Academia Alfonso X el Sabio

GÓNZALEZ PALENCIA, Ángel (1957) *Árabes murcianos ilustres*. In: Murgetana, Nº 10, pp. 9-43

Here follows a short introduction to the works of the pupils of al-Sadafi, viz. Al-Rusati and Ibn Tufayl.

3.1.2 Abū Muhammad Al-Rusati

Abū Muhammad ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Ali al-Rusātī³⁸ was born in Orihuela in 1074. He left Orihuela at the age of six years and settled in Almeria, where he died in 1147. He wrote the genealogical work *Iqtibās al-anwār wa-ltimās al-azhār fī ansāb* (o asmā) *al-sahāba wa-ruwāt al-âtār*³⁹. This work is a welcome amendment for the reconstruction of the geographical work of al-Rāzī⁴⁰.

³⁸ **BOSCH VILA, J.** (1986) *Una fuente importante para la Historia de al-Andalus. El Kitāb Iqtibās al-anwār de Abū Muhammad al-Rusātī*. In: Actas del XII Congreso de la Unión Europea de Arabistas e Islamólogos (Málaga, 1984), pp. 83-94

BOSCH VILÁ, J. (1985-1986) “El Kitāb Iqtibās al-anwār de Abū Muḥammad al-Ruṣāfī: análisis de la obra y de las noticias sobre al-Andalus”, In: *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos (RIEI)*, XXIII Madrid: 7-13

³⁹ **MOLINA MARTÍNEZ, Luis & ÁVILA NAVARRO, María-Luisa** (1985) *La división territorial en la Marca Superior de al-Andalus*. In: *Historia de Aragón*, 3, Zaragoza, pp. 11-30. Citation on p. 25

⁴⁰ **MOLINA LÓPEZ, Emilio** (1987) *Noticias geográficas y biográficas sobre Tudmir en el «Iqtibās al-anwār» de al-Rusātī*. In: *En: Homenaje al Profesor Juan Torres Fontes*, Vol. II, pp. 1085-1098

MOLINA LÓPEZ, Emilio (1987-1988) “El Kitāb Ijtisār Iqtibās al-anwār de Ibn al-Jarrāṭ. El autor y la obra. Análisis de las noticias históricas, geográficas y biográficas sobre al-Andalus”. In: *Quaderni di Studi Arabi (QSA)*, Venezia, 5-6: 541-558

MOLINA LÓPEZ, Emilio & BOSCH VILA, Jacinto (1990) *Abū Muhammad al-Rusātī (d. 542/1147), Ibn al-Jarrāt al-Isbīlī (d. 581/1186), Al-Andalus en el Kitāb Iqtibās al-anwār y en el Ijtisār Iqtibās al-anwār. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Cooperación con el Mundo Árabe, Madrid*

Pons Boigues⁴¹ gives the following information about him:

The Roxethí (Al-Rusati)

He was born on 8 of *Chumada II* in 465 or 466 or 479 in Orihuela or Almeria, part of the Murcian jurisdiction, studied under the direction of Abu Alí Algassani and Abu Ali Aççadafi, distinguished himself as a historian, and because of his knowledge of the traditions of important men and their genealogies found his death on the Taking of Almeria (martyr, in the language of the biographers) on 20 of *Chumada II* in 542 (1147).

1. The work to which he owes his fame is titled *Adquisición de luces y examen o pesquisa de flores...*

Pedigrees of fellow prophets and traditionalists, of whom Aben Alabbar says that there is no resemblance between the works of this genre to the one that preceded it, also deserve similar praise from A Jalikán, Almakkari, etc. *Hachi*, 1036, 1348. This work was found in the Azzeituna mosque in Tunisia. It has had some summaries, which are mentioned in the appropriate place.

2. He also wrote a *Tratado sobre los errores del Daracothni contenidos en su libro titulado (Nombres) concordantes y discordantes*

3. Refuting of the findings of his contemporary Aben Athia recorded in his great genealogical book (Aben Alab., *Moch.*, I. c.)

Rusati wrote a funny anecdote in his biographical dictionary *Kitāb iqtibās al-anwār wa iltimās al-azhār fī ansāb al-ṣaḥāba wa ruwāt al-aṭār*). It describes a version of a humorous tale about the Supreme Judge of Cordoba al-Mundhir b. Sa'id "al-

TORRES CALZADA, Katjia. (2007) "*Fulāna: esposa de Muhammad Ibn Abī 'Isā, juez supremo del califa omeya 'Abd Al-Rahmān Al-Nāsir, según "noticia" recogida en un diccionario biográfico andalusí del siglo XII*", *Mujer en Dār Al-Islām*. Sevilla: ArCiBel: 39-61

⁴¹ **PONS BOIGUES, Francisco** (1898) *Historiadores y geógrafos arabigo-españoles*. Madrid, N° 169, p. 207

Balluṭī” and the eunuch Ŷa`far al-Ṣaqlībī (“The Slavonic”) occurred during the caliphate of al-Ḥakam Mustanṣir b. Llāh in the tenth century⁴²:

Humorous anecdote about Munḍir b. Sa`īd al-Ballūṭī and Ŷa`far al-Ṣaqlībī, the eunuc of al-Ḥakam Mustanṣir bi-Llāh.

Of him they said:

“When the qadi Munḍir b. Sa`īd dictated sentence, he did it with his established religious conviction, irreproachable ethic, and kindheartedness reflected on his permanently smiling face. Who did not know him could never know what was going through his mind. When someone doubted his sincerity to religion, he reacted with the fury of a lion. Amongst his anecdotes we pick one that he was with caliph al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir bi-Llāh on a summer Friday, hot to the extreme in the garden next to a pool in which Munḍir b. Sa`ī d complained about the heat to the caliph. The latter ordered him to take off his clothes and refresh his body. Al-Munḍir did as ordered and this did not alleviate the heat. Al-Ḥakam said to him:

—“The best thing would be for you to get into this pool and refresh yourself”. Come on, don’t be embarrassed in front of anyone here!

Nevertheless, Ya`far al-Siqḷabi was with them; he was the eunuc chamberlain, a favourite of the Caliph, who flaunted the most elevated position from the existent people in the Caliphate. As he really felt embarrassed about getting into the water with Ya`far, he decided to get away from him in a respectful way. Al-Hakam ordered his chamberlain Ya`far to get into the pool and helped the qadi to get in. Ya`far did so, was a very good swimmer, and, dressed to bathe, got into the water. Al-Hakam said something in secret to Ya`far to get the judge to swim and manage to move him from where he was seated. Nevertheless, he wouldn’t move from his seat, did not move a finger, until, finally, al-Hakam asked him:

⁴² **TORRES CALZADA, Katjia** (2013) *Pinceladas de humor en los diccionarios biográficos andalusíes*. In: Humor y comunicación. Homenaje a Ana María Vígara, Espéculo, Enero-junio, N° 50. Universidad Complutense de Madrid, pp. 95-101

—“What is wrong with you, qadi?” You don’t help the chamberlain to do his job and you don’t swim with him. He does it for you!

To which he answered:

“Sir, the chamberlain – may God bless him - swims with ease due to the fact that he has no anchor that stops him, because he is an eunuc, and I have mine that won’t allow me to get into the deep part of the pool. He was referring to his testicles.

Al-Hakam erupted in laughter from the well-brought occurrence, but the chamberlain felt ashamed about why he insulted him in the worst way possible. Both got out of the water and the caliph – may God have mercy on him – ordered them to dress the same way, to continue the prayers, which would reinstate harmony reigning between them”.

He wrote the following about his city Orihuela⁴³:

«Al-Ūriyūli: Orihuela is one of the seven cities of the treaty of Teodomiro and one of the strongholds of al-Andalus. In it there is abundance of goods and magnificent crops are obtained. I was born and raised in this city and my parents and grandparents are buried in it – God have mercy on them.

Amongst the wise who carry their nisba (origin of name) figures the alfaquí and the qadi Abū-l-Qāsim Jalaf b. Sulaymān b. Muhammad b. Fathūn. He was named qadi in Jativa and Denia, but resigned from the office. He later went back to his land, but wouldn’t leave his house only to do the Friday prayer or something similar. Pious, ascetic, practiced fasting regularly, of the right path, friendly, generous to his partners, he was of a good nature and had an excellent relationships with his brothers and family members. He was an expert in judicial matters and an authority in notary matters. He composed a play, *Al-Tambīd*, besides being a great poet. He died in Orihuela, on a Wednesday, day 2 of the month of Dū-l-qa’da of the year 505 (May 1, 1112). Besides learning from his father, his son, the hafiz Abū

⁴³ SÁNCHEZ PÉREZ, Antonio José (2003-2004). El territorio alicantino en las fuentes geográficas árabes medievales (siglos IX-XV). In: Miscelánea Medieval Murciana, XXVII-XXVIII, pp. 103-124. Citation on pp. 110-111.

Bakr Muhammad learnt from the hafiz Abū Alī al-Sadaḡī almost half of the work of Abū Umar ibn Abd al-Barr. He also composed a commentary about the errors that this mentioned work had. He died in his land on a Tuesday night, beginning of the month of Dū-l-ḡiyya of the year 517 (January 20, 1124). The qādī-l-quḡā of Levante Abū Muhammad ibn Abī Aryūn, who had travelled from Murcia specifically for that reason, prayed over his grave.»

3.1.3 Ibn Tufayl

Ibn Tufayl (c. 1105 – 1185) Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Abd al-Malik ibn Muhammad ibn Tufail al-Qaisi al-Andalusi, Latinized form: Abubacer Aben Tofail, was an Arab Andalusian Muslim polymath - writer, novelist, Islamic philosopher, Islamic theologian, physician, astronomer, vizier, and court official. As a philosopher and novelist he is most famous for writing the first philosophical novel *Hayy ibn Yaqdhan*, also known as *Philosophus Autodidactus* in the Western world.

It has been proclaimed in the history of science texts that the inductive research method was first introduced by Francis Bacon (1561-1626), a western scholar. However, Ibn-Tufayl (1100-1185), a Muslim scholar and philosopher referred to the components of the inductive research method in his well-known novel *Hayy Ibn Yaqzan* (literally, alive son of the awake).

Ibn Thufayl's novel *Hayy Ibn Yaqzan* describes the life of infant *Hayy Ibn Yaqzan* who lived on an uninhabited island alone with the wild animals. The analytical research method was utilized to analyze and identify the features of the inductive research method mooted in the novel *Hayy Ibn Yaqzan*. It is important to note that the novel appeared about 500 years before Daniel Defoe wrote his novel *Robinson Crusoe*. Nevertheless, *Hayy Ibn Yaqzan* did not receive merit in study and analysis as did

Robinson Crusoe despite the enormous similarity between them⁴⁴.

3.1.4 Ulemas

The Arabist Victoria Aguilar let us know that Ibn al-Abbâr informs in the *Mu'yam*, a work dedicated to the disciples of Abû 'Alî al-Sadaî Ibn Sukkara who spent several years of his life as *qâdî* in Murcia, that the most prestigious families of the city were the Banû Tâhir, Banû Waddâb, Banû Jattâb, Banû 'Isâm, Banû [Abî] Ya'far, Banû Sahl, Banû Idrîs, Banû al-Hâyy, Banû Bustagayr, Banû Fathûn, and others. We know five ulemas belonging to the mentioned family.

3.1.4.1 Abû Muhammad 'Abd Allâh Ibn Burtuluh

The first, already mentioned in the *Mu'yam* by Ibn al-Abbâr is Abû Muhammad 'Abd Allâh b. Mûsa b. Sulaymân al-Azdî, known as Ibn Burtuluh. His inclusion in this work is linked by him being a disciple of Abû 'Alî, but there is a crucial fact: his marriage to the daughter of the latter. Jadîya. The biography that Ibn al-Abbâr dedicated to him in the *Takmila* is more explicit in his onomastic and activity: 'Abd Allâh b. Mûsà b. Sulaymân b. 'Alî b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Yahyà b. 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Hasan b. Muhammad b. 'Amîra b. Tarîf b. Skûrnmu, born in Murcia in dû l-qa'da in 481/January 1089.

His academic background is typical: in his native Murcia he studied with his father-in-law 'Abû 'Alî and other important Faqîhs and traditionalists, and in 510/1116, at 27 years of age, he undertook the journey to the East and fulfilled the precept of the 1st pilgrimage to Mecca. His trip served a dual purpose common among ulama andalusians: religious precept and intellectual formation. During his stay in Alexandria he

⁴⁴ HASHIM, Rosnani & QADOUS, Allam I.H. (2014) *The Inductive Research Method in Early Islamic Tradition Based on Ibn Tufayl's Work – Hayy Ibn Yaqzan*. In: *Revelation and Science*, Vol. 4, pp. 41-47

received the teachings of the most important teachers who were in the city at the time: Abû ‘Abd Allâh al-Râzî, Abû Bakr al-Turtûsî, el sâfi’î Abû Tâhir al-Silafî, Abû l-Hasan b. Musarrif al-Anmâtî, Abû ‘Abd al-Rahmân and others⁴⁵.

3.1.4.1.1 Murcia

Gaspar Remiro gives us the following information about the leading jurists, traditionalists, and scientists in Murcia in those years:

« Among the jurists, traditionalists, and notables in the sciences that flourished in Murcia and its region during the period of the Almorávides the following people are quoted in a special way by Arab biographers: Mohâmed, son of Abdâla, son of Abuchâfar, from Todmir; of illustrious family, mufti or magistrate consultant of Murcia where he died in 1100 or 1101.

A son of the former, Abdâla, who also took the nickname Abuchûfar, better known to his family; distinguished himself, like his father, as a legal advisor. Mohâmed, son of Soláiman, known commonly as Abenassalar, native of Orihuela, where he served as mayor of alms or pious bequests, father of the remarkable traditionalist Abuamru Zeyad, son of Mohâmed, and close friend and disciple in poetry of the famous poets Abnabdâla, son of Alhadad, and Abubéquer Abenalabana Yahya, son of Ibrahim, son of Abuzeyad, generally known as Abenalbayaz, exegete and reader of the Koran, according to the system Abumohâmed from Mecca; he made a trip to the East and heard the famous Qadi Abdeluahab in Egypt. He lived ninety years and taught the Koran to the people, but having

⁴⁵ **AGUILAR, Victoria** (1995) Tres generaciones y varios siglos de historia: Los Banû Burtuluh de Murcia. In: Estudios Onomástico-Biográficos de Al-Andalus (E.O.B.A.), Volume VII, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid, pp. 19-40.

disturbed his reason in his last years his explanations did not deserve credit; because in many cases he argued testimonies of people whose teachings he had not received, he did not even have scientific correspondence with them. He died in Murcia in 1102 or 1103. Isa, son of Abderráman, Salamí, was a master of Koranic exegesis in Murcia, where he died in 1104 or 1105.

Mohámed, son of Abdelmélíc, son of Alí, son of Násir, born in Murcia, lawyer, disciple of Abualí Algasaní and the famous Seville Faqīh, Abubéquer Abenalarabí, whom he heard in that city in 1102 or 1103.

Ismail of Murcia, the son of Isa, son of Fadl disciple of Abualí Asadafi, was a famous traditionalist who died in the battle of Cutanda. After hearing famous teachers in Zaragoza, Valencia, and Almeria he marched to the East to satisfy the obligation of the pilgrimage and improve his education. He returned to Spain, established himself in teaching in various cities of the East, especially in Murcia, which he chose as fixed residence since 1102. In this city he had many disciples inside and outside the region; he deserved his position as Qadi, a position he quit not long afterwards, and almost all men who distinguished themselves by their knowledge in Murcia in successive years were disciples of the renowned Asadafi⁴⁶.

3.1.5 Al-Buqayra (d. 1135) of Murcia

The repulsive arch amazes me
because it is not loyal with the pigeons of the grove.

When it was a branch, it was his friend, and now that it is an arch
it follows them. Those are the vicissitudes of the time!⁴⁷

⁴⁶ **GASPAR REMIRO, Mariano** (1905). Historia de Murcia musulmana, Zaragoza, pp. 155-157.

⁴⁷ **DELGADO, Santiago** (1993) *Murcia. Antología general poética.* Universidad de Murcia, p. 13

3.1.6 A remarkable woman in Murcia

María Luisa Ávila and Victoria Aguilar mention the following remarkable woman in those years⁴⁸:

Laylà (V-VI / XI-XII century)⁴⁹ (122). Freed (mu'taga) by the vizier Ibn Abû Bakr b. Jattâb, Ibn Abi Yamra (1124-1202) from Murcia.

She is mentioned by the same Qadi Abû Bakr Ibn Abi Yamra, who says that she was superior to any women of her time and had intelligence for all kinds of science. The passionate news about her biography is that many men wanted her, but she rejected them all - until a relative of her former owner requested her in marriage precisely because of the attributes she had and despite the fact that there was no parity in the marriage. The pretender had an important position in science, religion, and family ancestry. After all, he had taught Abu Bakr Ibn Abi Yamra. This, apart from other virtues, was the reason that Qadi Abû l-Qâsim Ibn Hishâm b. Abi Yamra married her (tazawwaya-hâ). She died beside him in 528/1133 - a while before he was Qadi of Granada.

⁴⁸ **ÁVILA, María Luisa** (1989) *Las mujeres "sabias" en Al-Andalus*. In: *La mujer en al-Andalus: reflejos históricos de su actividad y categorías sociales*. Edition de María J. Viguera. Madrid, Sevilla, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, pp. 139-184. Citation on pp. 165-166

AGUILAR, Victoria (2016) *Fatima, Amat al-Rahman y otras mujeres en el mundo del saber de Murcia en el siglo XII*. In: IX Congreso Internacional AUDEM. Universidad de Murcia. Facultad de Letras. M^a Gloria Ríos Guardiola, M^a Belén Hernández González, Encarna Esteban Bernabé (eds.), pp. 27-46. Citation on pp. 37

⁴⁹ **IBN AL-ZUBAYR**. Silat al-Sila. Ed. E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL. Rabat, 1938 Other fragments published as a supplement to Dayl, v. VIII-2, sup. N^o. 112

3.1.7 Cehegín

During the second half of the 11th century the toponym Buqasra should have fallen into disuse, because a text of al-Bakrī (d. 1094) gives the population the name that it has today and that comes from the new dwellers installed there: the Sanhayiyies Berbers. Al-Bakrī without a doubt had trustworthy references about the area. The text from al-Bakrī refers to a mine of iman stone or magnetite in the vicinity of Cehegín. Two authors from forthcoming centuries picked up on this information: The Grenadian Ibn Galib (s. XII) and the Oriental ad-Dimasqī (d. 1327). The last one says the following:

The district of the Sinhayiyies is in the region of Tudmir, in which a magnetite so excellent is found that a stone of a dirham weight attracts an iron of double its weight, and transports it elevating it to the height of a man or more⁵⁰.



⁵⁰ **CARMONA, Alonso** (1987) *Noticias geográficas árabes referentes al Bilad Tudmir*. In: Murgetana, 72, pp. 119-20. by **CARMONA, Alfonso** (1997) *El noroeste murciano en época árabe*. In: Miscelánea Medieval Murciana, Vol. XXI-XXII, págs. 59-70. Citation on p. 67

3.1.8 Orihuela

There is a reference to the possible existence of an Islamic cemetery in the city of Orihuela. It is provided by Abu Muhammad al-Rusati, born in Orihuela in 466/1074, when he speaks about his birth town. He clearly states: *wa-bi-hà qubür àbàl wa-aydàdi* («and in it are the graves of my parents and my grandparents»⁵¹, but he gave no further specification.

3.1.9 Ibn Tahir, the former governor of Murcia

The Cadi Ibn Jehhaf instructed to kill the king Al-Kadir in 1092 and became the leader in Valencia.

He was particularly overbearing towards the friends of the murdered monarch. The aged ex-King of Murcia, Ibn Tahir, who had treated Al-Kadir so generously in 1088, when Valencia was besieged by the King of Denia, was subjected to innumerable slights by the infatuated usurper, who saw a possible rival in each and every man. The old King, however, spoke his mind in satirical verse ventilating his accusations against Ibn Jehhaf: “Go slowly, O Knock-knees, for thou who hast murdered Al-Kadir and donned his mantle, art verily in danger. Thy day of reckoning will come, when thou shalt find refuge nowhere.” And, indeed, it was not long before Ibn Jehhaf’s vain enjoyment of usurped pomp was overcast by a threat of retribution⁵².

⁵¹ **ABŪ MUHAMMAD AL-RUSÀTÎ; IBN AL-JARRÀT AL-ISBĪLĪ** (1990) *Al-Andalus en el Kitàb iqtibàs al-anwâr y en el Ijtisâr iqtibàs al-anwâr*. Ed., introd. y notas de Molina López, E., y Bosch Vila, J., Madrid, 1990, 20. Citado por **MARTÍNEZ NÚÑEZ, María A.** (2001) *Estelas funerarias de época califal aparecidas en Orihuela (Alicante)*. Revista al-qantara, XXII, pp. 45-76. Citation on p. 46

⁵² **MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, Ramón** (1934). *The Cid and his Spain*. Translated from the Spanish by H. Sutherland, London: John Murray.

3.1.10 The Prisoners Ibn Jehhaf convicted.

Among the prisoners taken before the Cid's occupation of the Alcazar, was the old ex-King of Murcia, Ibn Tahir. A letter he wrote on February 26, 1095, gives a vivid impression of the grave situation in Valencia at the time. "We have become prisoners", he wrote, "through misfortunes hitherto unparalleled. Oh, if thou could'st but see Valencia! May Allah turn the light of his countenance upon her! Could'st thou but see what fate has done to her and her inhabitants, thou could'st not but weep at the misfortune that has defiled her beauty and eclipsed her moon and stars. Ask me not about my afflictions or my despair. Now must I pay ransom after having undergone the most terrible sufferings, from which I have barely escaped alive. My only hope is in the mercy of Allah." In the end, however, Ibn Tahir was freed, possibly because of his former friendship with Al-Kadir, and the admonitory verses he had written to the haughty Cadiz "O Knock-knees, the day will come when thou shalt get thy deserts." And now that day had indeed come⁵³.

The manuscript *Dhajîra* made by Ibn Bassâm has a long and important passage about the Cid. He also talks about Ibn Tâhir, former king of Murcia, who after losing his throne had settled in Valencia.

Ibn-Tâhir wrote a letter to Ibn Djahhâf when the latter's first cousin revolted in Valencia:

"As evidence of the kindness you have given me, my respected friend, a habit I'll never leave and the recognition that I owe you is like a precious load that will always accompany me. I will entrust myself to you with eyes closed, imputing what happened to an unjust fate. After his rebellion, which in his mind had taken him to the stars, making it far superior to the inhabitants of heaven, your cousin, (let

⁵³ **MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, Ramón** (1934). *The Cid and his Spain*. Translated from the Spanish by H. Sutherland, London: John Murray.

us God enjoy for many years of his talent) was looking at me sideways, thinking I was envious or that I was his rival. God damn anyone who begrudge this magnificent rebellion.

"She was just made for him and he for her."

"Later his noble anger had unleashed against me and haunted me in every way possible. I, however, ate my sorrows as acute as they were; pretended not to notice his plans; hid my greatest sorrows, my revenge was to do well. But today he got the idea (and he has some detestable ones) of going far beyond iniquity and insolence; one thing that I would have never dared to imagine has happened - the cause of his behaviour is also inexplicable to me. When a messenger of mine went to ask him some questions about certain things, he put a scowl in a really bad gesture, he turned his back, flaunting an unbearable pride. I have also known restrain respecting good parenting anxious not to miss urbanity; but it is not respect for Abu-Ahmed who kept me calm, nor the procedures he has used on me. I swear solemnly - if fate brings you here and I am still here, I will make you enjoy all the pleasures and take you IN CABRITO and your friends too. But God let you be in your home for a long time and protects you from misfortune! That protects your dignity, which will serve as a stepping stone to even more eminent charges! For the rising I have talked about doesn't bring you disgrace, but brings happiness instead. Because one doesn't suffer that long for such a man, nor does he stay in his post several days, nor is he granted a long term!"

Ibn Bassâm says: "He, Abu-Abderraman Ibn Tâhir lived long enough to witness the fall of the rulers of small dynasties and the calamity suffered by the Muslims of Valencia; calamity caused by the tyrant Cid whom God dispose smithereens! He was then thrown into prison in this border in 1094. In his prison he wrote one of his friends a letter that says:

"I'm writing you in the middle of the month of Safar. We have fallen prisoners after unexampled misadventures, because of how continuous and large they were. If you could look at Valencia (God willing favour her with one of his looks and restore its light!); if you could see what fate has done to her and her people, you would feel sorry and cry for their misfortunes, because calamities have stolen its beauty without leaving traces of its moons and stars. Do not ask me how much I suffer, what my anguish is, what my despair is. I see myself forced now to buy my freedom at the price of a bailout, after

having braved dangers that have almost cost me my life. And I just hope in the goodness of God, who always attends us and the mercy he has promised us. I am sharing my sorrows because it's appropriate to do so with a friend and I know your faithfulness and that you care a lot for me. I also ask you to make me part of your prayers to God and perhaps your prayers will grant me freedom, because God (Glorified be his name) embraces favourably the humble and heartfelt pleas. I wish blessings accompany you wherever you are!"⁵⁴

According to the *Qalâ'id* Ibn Tahir took refuge at Jâtiva and returned to Valencia after the city had been retaken by the Almoravids under Abû Muhammad al-Mazdalî on 15 Ragab 495/May 5, 1102⁵⁵.

3.1.11 Ibn Tahir en 1104

Approximately in 1104 Ibn Bassâm (Abu-'l-Hasan) said: "Abu-Abderraman has composed so many excellent works and his thoughts and actions are so beautiful that his facts can't be mentioned here, nor unwrap all the nobility of his character. But I have copied the most part of his compositions in a separate book to which I gave the title of *Pearl threads* [*pearl necklace*] about the letters of Ibn-Tahir. At this moment he lives in Valencia, has preserved the complete use of his faculties: although he is around eighty, he preserves good hearing. He still pours ideas over paper that steal the shine of pearl necklaces and in comparison to which, illuminated by the beautiful moon, pearl necklaces are dark. However, what we have written must be enough, because what man could deplete all that there is to say about the matter?"⁵⁶

⁵⁴ **DOZY, Reinhart** (1872) *Investigaciones acerca de la Historia y de la Literatura de España durante la Edad Media*. Tomo II, Madrid

⁵⁵ **MONROE, James T.** (1974). *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*. A Student Anthology (University of California Press, p. 205.

⁵⁶ **DOZY, Reinhart** (1872) *Investigaciones acerca de la Historia y de la Literatura de España durante la Edad Media*. Tomo II, Madrid

3.2 1108-1115 Abu-Bakr b. Ibrahim, ibn Tifilwit

Once Valencia fell into Christian hands, Ibn Aysa commanded the Almoravids forces that left in 1114 for Barcelona in one of the offensive to regain terrains, ceded to the Christians. At the time prince Ibn Aysa was the governor of Murcia and went to Barcelona with the first governor of Zaragoza Mohammed al-Hayy. However, they were defeated by Ramón Berenguer III alongside the men from the counties of Urgell and Cerdanya in the battle of Martorell in 1114, where Ibn Aysa lost his sight and Mohammed al-Hayy his life. Ibn Aysa finished withdrawn in North Africa in the court of Ali ibn Yusuf.

Prince Aba Abd-Allah remained wali of Murcia until he got sick of the sight during the better part of his life due to an expedition of Barcelona, in which *Abu Abd-Allah ben Al-Hach* died as martyr.

The Lamtunian general Ibn ‘Aysa and Mohamed al-Hayy were replaced by Abu Bakr b. Ibrahim Ibn Tifilwit⁵⁷. However, the exact year is unknown and consequently not much is known about the history of Murcia of those years. The replacement could have been between 1108 and 1110.

Years ago Ibn Tifilwit had south an audience with Amir Ali Ibn Yusuf who recognized the nobility of the Saharan. The Amir not only took the noble warrior into his service, but he also offered the hand of his own sister in marriage. Thereafter the Amir had sent his new brother-in-law to Granada to fight the Christians and after a few years of distinguished service Ibn Tifilwit became governor of Murcia. He probably was there for

⁵⁷ **HOUTSMA, M. Th.** (1936) *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: a Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography, and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples*. E.J. Brill and Luzac & Co., 1913-1936, Volume VI, p. 733

some years and finally was appointed governor of Zaragoza after the death of Muhammad Ibn al-Hajji, one of the ablest commanders in Fez of all times. However, he was killed along with most of his army when he reached the outskirts of Barcelona in 1114. To avenge the death of Ibn al-Hajji, Ibn Tifilwit spent 20 days in Barcelona, where he ravaged the countryside around the city burning crops, cutting trees, and levelling whole villages⁵⁸.

Ibn Tifilwith made Saragossa the Almoravid administrative center of eastern Andalusia. When Ibn Tifilwit became a lord of Saragossa in 1115, he also kept a group of singing-girls⁵⁹. Furthermore, Ibn Bajja taught slave-girls to sing muwashahs, especially a slave-girl belonging to Ibn Tifilwit, governor of Saragossa⁶⁰.

In Saragossa there were two Almoravid ladies who distinguished themselves for their literary talent: one was Tamima, the sister of 'Ali b. Yusuf; the other was the daughter of the governor of Zaragoza Abu-Bakr b. Ibrahim ibn Tifilwit. Tifilwit's daughter was a reputed, good, virtuous, charitable, and generous woman. Amira Hawa, Yusuf b. Tasfin's niece, can be added to these two literates. She used to have meetings with secretaries and poets and happened to be an intelligent and worthy poet⁶¹.

⁵⁸ **MESSIER, Ronald A.** (2010) *The Almoravids and the Meaning of Jihad*, p. 137

⁵⁹ **IBN KHALDUN** Prolegómenos, III, pp. 426 and 427. Citado por **RIBERA, Julián** (1929) *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain*, London, p. 113

⁶⁰ **RIBERA, Julián** (1929) *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain*, London, p. 137

⁶¹ **BARBOUR, Nevill** (1966) *La guerra psicológico de los Almohades contra los Almoravides*. Boletín de la Asociación Española de Orientalistas II, pp. 117-130. Citation on p. 124

3.2.1 Lorca

Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Turyut Ibn al-Hayy was governor of Cordova (1107), Fez, another place in Magreb (1108), and Valencia. He was a military leader of the Almoravid troops of Levante and conqueror in 1110 of the Taifa of Zaragoza, under the leadership of 'Abd al-Malik' Imad al-Dawla. He died in an ambush with his men while returning from a raid by Catalonia in 1114⁶².

Conde⁶³ mentions Abu Muhamad Adala as King of Murcia in 1114 (h. 508).

3.2.2 Al-Saraqusti - Murcia

During the years 508/1114 and 509/1115 Ibn al-Astarkuwi surfaces in Murcia, attending the lectures of Abu 'Ali al-Sadafī, also known as Husayn ibn Firruh (Fierro) ibn Hayyun ibn Sukkara, al-Saraqusti (444/1052-510/1120). This scholar had spent nine years studying in the Middle East and, after his return to al-Andalus, taught hadith in Murcia and Almeria. His lectures seem to have been so popular that he went on record as having trained at least 324 students⁶⁴. Among them were 11 students from Orihuela and 7 from Lorca⁶⁵.

⁶² See **BOSCH VILÀ, J.** (1956) *Los almorávides*, Granada, Universidad de Granada, Servicio de Publicaciones (edición facsímil de Tetuán, with a preliminar study of E. Molina López), pp. 176, 180-81, 185-187, 189; and **VIGUERA MOLINS, M.J.** (1992) *Los reinos de taifas y las invasiones magrebies (Al-Andalus del XI al XIII)*, Editorial Mapfre, Madrid, p. 184; **GUICHARD, P.** (1991) *Les musulmans de Valence et la reconquête (XIe-XIIIe siècles)*, 2 vols., Damasco, I: 88-89. Cited by **ARCAS CAMPOY, Maria** (2010) *La Calle Abenhalaj*. In: Clavis, Nº 6, pp. 33-44

⁶³ **CONDE, José Antonio** (1820) *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en España*, Volume II. (In the first pages)

⁶⁴ **MONROE, James T.** (1997) *Al-Saraqustī, ibn al-Astarkūwī: Andalusī Lexicographer. Poet, and Author of "Al-Maqāmāt al-Luzūmiya"*. In: Sources of Arabic Literature, Vol. 28, Nº 1, pp. 1-37. Cited on p. 6

⁶⁵ **PUENTE, Cristina de la** (1998) *Vivre et mourir pour Dieu, oeuvre et héritage d'Abu 'Ali Al-Sadafī (m. 514/1120)*. In: Studia Islamica, Nº 88, pp. 77-102. Cited on p. 87

3.2.3 Al-A'mâ at-Tutîlî - Murcia

The blind poet Abû 'l-'Abbâs ibn Huraira Abû Ga'far Ahmad ibn 'Ali was born in Tudela near Zaragoza, on an unknown date, and also lived in Murcia and Seville. Manroes says the following about him⁶⁶:

According to *Anal*, II, p. 360, when he lived at Murcia, boys used to shout at him: "You need *kulh* (collyre), oh master!" This annoyed him to such an extent that he left the city. People used to say to him: "Why do you bump into people?" He would reply: "I am blind and they do not move out of my way, so how can I help not bumping into them?" A beggar then said: "I never bumped into you. so give me alms." but he refused. Ibn Haldûn describes the scene when Al-a'mâ and Ibn Bâgga were competing in witty compositions at the court of Ibn Tifelwîr at Zaragoza. sometime between 1110 and 1118 A. D. The Blind (poet) of Tudela died in 520/1126.

3.2.4 Other famous persons in Murcia

According to Gaspar Remiro we had various famous persons in Murcia in those years⁶⁷:

Abulcâsim Jalaf was the son of Solâiman Abenfathun, who was Qadi of Jâtiva and Denia, author of a work on contracts, excellent writer and poet, and died in 1111 or 1112.

Abuabdâla Mohâmed was the son of Yahya, great jurist and chairman in Murcia, where he died in 1117 or 1118.

Âhmed of Granada was the son of Ibrahim, Abenlaila Alansarî, was Qadi in Xilba, and lived in Murcia for a long time, distinguishing himself as a traditionalist until his death in the year of the disaster of Cutanda, in which the famous Abualî Asadafî died.

Ibrahim, Qadi of Murcia, was the son of Asanî Abuomaia who died in 1122 or 1123.

⁶⁶ **MONROE, James T.** (1974) *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*. A student anthology (University of California Press, p. 254

⁶⁷ **GASPAR REMIRO, Mariano** (1905). Historia de Murcia musulmana, Zaragoza, pp. 157 – 158.

Moháméd was the son of Ahmed, son of Ammar, nicknamed Abubéquer, born in Lleida. He moved to Valencia once the Almoravids managed to enter, where he studied the Koran with Abu David, the reader. Then he went back to Lleida where he taught the Koran to his countrymen until 1106 or 1107 when he moved to Murcia, continuing his teachings in the mosque of this city for three years after which he moved to Orihuela, where he got the position of preacher of the mosque and continued his Koranic teachings. He died in 1125 or 1126.

Abualale Abensahit was a Murcian poet highly praised by his contemporaries.

Moháméd, son of Jalaf Abenfathun, cited earlier, was a native of Orihuela and author and teacher of tradition so remarkable that his biographers say that his name did honour to the east of Spain. He died in 1126 or 1127.

Abulhasan Táfir, son of Ibrahim; as above, was a famous traditionalist of Orihuela.

Abdelmélíc, son of Abdelaziz, son of Ferro, nicknamed Abumeruan, native of Murcia and Santa María (probably Albarracín), traditionalist; made a trip to the East, visiting Baghdad, Damascus, and other capitals, and when he returned from his trip he was named president of prayer in the mosque of Murcia, a position he held until his death between 1124 and 1130.

Abumoháméd Abderráman, son of Moháméd, more commonly known as the one of Mequinez, was a secretary of Abenmardenix and other emirs. He was from Murcia, an excellent poet and man of letters; his poems and epistles were highly sought after by the public. He died in Morocco in 1175 or 1176.

Abucháfar Omar was the son of Abdelaziz, son of Jalaf the Caisí, native of Lorca where he served as Qadi and died in 1174 or 1175.

Abdála was the son of Moháméd, son of Sahl Adaric, native of Granada. He was an excellent mathematician and Abenmardenix chose him as a teacher for his children. He left remarkable works on mathematics and died in Murcia in 1175 or 1176.

Abulhásan Alí was the son of Hixem the Chodamí, from Lorca. He was a poet and excellent writer and was appointed preacher of the mosque of the city.

Abuamru Jafacha was the son of Abderráman, son of Ahmed Alaslamí, from Elche. He distinguished himself as an expert Faqīh in drafting notarial documents and wise in judgments and legal traditions relating to sayings or facts of the Prophet's companions. He died in 1178 or 1179.

Chabir was the son of Yahya, son of Mohámed Abengarur, son of Dinnun, native of Granada. He was chairman of the council of his hometown, but the outbreak of the revolution against the Almoravids made him flee to eastern Spain where he was appointed as Qadi of Játiva and later Orihuela. It seems that he later returned to his hometown and was also appointed as Qadi until his death in 1180 or 1181.

Abuzaid Abderráman was the son of Mohámed Abenferro the Chodamí, native of Orihuela. He was a remarkable jurist and served as chairman of the council of his hometown. He died in 1173 or 1174.

Abulabas Ahmed was the son of Omar, Abenafaronda (?) a Murcian, although he was born in Talavera. In his youth he had traveled through the most illustrious capitals of Spain and the East and settled in Murcia upon return. His contemporaries sang great praises to his wisdom. He died in Murcia in 1174 or 1175.

Abucháfar Áhmed was the son of Abdelmélíc, son of Amira, son of Yahya Adabí, native of Lorca. He fulfilled the precept of the pilgrimage to Mecca. He was a devout man and a usual practitioner of fasting. He taught the Koran and traditions and died in Lorca in 1181 or 1182.

3.2.5 Ibn Fathun

Ibn Fathun was born in Orihuela and was disciple of the famous Abû Ali the Sadafi, probably when he remained in Játiva for some time while going towards Cutanda. Appointed as Qadi of Denia he refused this position and hid and escaped because people insisted, getting rid of such importune managements. He devoted himself especially to the science of tradition and wrote

several works on it and their representatives. Ibn Pascual quotes him:

1. A two-volume work, continuation or appendix to the one written by Abu Omar ben Abdelbar about the Companions of the Prophet.
2. Another book on the opinions and ideas of this book.
3. Continuation of the *Mocham* by Ibn Kania.

He died in Murcia in 519 or 520 (1125 or 1126); the Qadi of Murcia prayed over his grave⁶⁸.

3.2.6 Ibn Tahir

Ibn Hâqân says that he met Ibn Tâhir at Valencia in 503/1109-1110, and found him weak, but mentally very allert. They exchanged letters until Ibn Hâqân went to Majorca, but the claims to have witnessed Ibn Tâhir's funeral in 507/1113-1114, when the deceased was over ninety years of age. This funeral took place on 24 Gumâdâ II, 508/November 25, 1114. The vizier Abû 'l-'Alâ' ibn Azraq wept over the grave saying:

What I feared would happen, did happen: we must return to God!

Ibn Tâhir was buried in Murcia⁶⁹. Ibn Haqan describes a meeting with Ibn Tahir at the Munyat al-Mansur ibn Abi 'Amir, and as the only example of Ibn Tahir's poetry he cites three verses ritten. These are the verses.

Oh you *ahyaf* wait a little!
What you have done is truly horrid;
You have killed Yahya and thereafter

⁶⁸ **PONS BOIGUES, Francisco** (1898) *Historiadores y geógrafos arabigo-españoles*. Madrid, N° 145, p. 179

⁶⁹ **MONROE, James T.** (1974). *Hispano-Arabic Poetry*. A student anthology (University of California Press, p. 205.

Did put on his ruler's attire;
There will be a day of retribution;
You would not be able to avoid it⁷⁰!

3.2.7 Ibn al-Pedes

Ibn al-Abbar said that he was one of his teachers, and his nickname means *the two feet*. Granada was his hometown and he studied largely in Murcia. By unanimous testimony of his biographers he excelled at the study of the Arabic language and was counted as one of only three grammarians of Spain. He died in the Moharrem of 528 (1133), and so many people attended his funeral that the bier on which the corpse was conducted was broken. The greatness and people went to the funeral ceremony, and "I've never seen so many people mourn", says one of the attendees. This famous grammarian wrote a *Barnamech or Catalog* to his son Ahmed in which were written the names of his teachers and what he had learned from them. This work is among the large number of similar treatises quoted by Abú Bequer ben Jair at the end of his bibliographic work⁷¹.

⁷⁰ NYKL, Alois Richard (1946). Hispano-arabic poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours. p. 206.

⁷¹ PONS BOIGUES, Francisco (1898) Historiadores y geógrafos arabigo-españoles. Madrid, N° 156, p. 189

3.3 1115 ‘Ali b. Yusuf, Abu Ishak Ibrahim

After Ibn Tifilwit's death there was not a new governor in Murcia. Abu Bakr b. Ibrahim Ibn Tifilwit was later replaced by a brother of the sultan⁷² Ali Ibn Yusuf Abu Ishak Ibrahim. ‘Ali ibn Yusuf ibn Tasfin (d. 1106) was the brother of the governor of Jativa named Abu Ishak Ibrahim ibn Yusuf ibn Tasfin⁷³. The new governor settled in Saragossa to organize the administration until the appointment of a new governor for Murcia⁷⁴.

In a book about the Corona de Aragon⁷⁵ we learn that Abu Ishaq b. Ibrahim b. Tasfin was called Ibn Tacyast after the name of his mother who was black. The name Ibn Tacyast (Ta'yast) corresponds to the name of Ibn Ta'yast as found in *Historia de la Región Murciana*⁷⁶. But here Pierre Guichard indicates that Ibn Ta'yast is a brother of Ibn A'aysa. (Abu Abd Allah Muhammad Aysa) who took care of the interim affairs of the eastern districts and must have settled after these events in Zaragoza.

3.3.1 Lorca

Abu l-Hasan Ya'far b. Ibrahim b. Ahmad b. Hasan b. Sa'id b. Ahmad b. Hasan al-Ma'afiri al-Lurqi Ibn al-Hayy⁷⁷ was a poet

⁷² **HOUTSMA, M. Th.** (1936) *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: a Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography, and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples*. E.J. Brill and Luzac & Co., 1913-1936, Volume VI, p. 733

⁷³ **NYKL, Alois Richard** (1946) *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations With the Old Provençal Troubadours*. p. 225

⁷⁴ **VARIOS AUTORES** (1981) *Historia de Aragón*, Volume I, Anubar Ediciones, Zaragoza, p. 149

⁷⁵ **VARIOS AUTORES** (1962) *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón*, Volumen 7. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela de Estudios Medievales, p. 18

⁷⁶ **GUICHARD, Pierre** (1980) *Murcia Musulmana (siglos IX al XIII)*. In. *Historia de la Región Murciana*, Volume III, p. 172

⁷⁷ **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, A.** (2004) “*Ibn al-Hayy al-Lurqi, Abu l-Hasan*”, In: *Biblioteca de al-Andalus, Enciclopedia de la cultura andalusí*,

of noble lineage from Lorca, and father of Abu Muhammad ‘Abd Rahman b. Ya’far b. Ibrahim b. Ahmad b. Hasan b. Sa’id b. Ahmad b. Hasan al-Ma’afiri al-Lurqi Ibn al-Hayy.

Reputed as a magnificent poet and man of letters, he is recognized as an innovator in the order of rhyme and poetic prose. He spent some time trying to get into Sevilla as a poet at the court of al-Mu’tamid, but failed. Then he went to Almería where it seems that he was received by the monarch ‘Izz al-Dawla to whom he dedicated a poem. The date of his death is unknown, although it may have been 1116.

3.3.2 Murcia

In the edition of the Jami' published in Cairo in 1350 (1931) there is an introduction by Ibn al-'Arabi in which he tells how he received the Jami.

(.....) The third authority of Ibn Khair was the *shaikh* and traditionist Abul Husain 'Abd al-Malik b. Muhammad b. Hisham b. Sa'd al-Qaisi, known as Ibn al-Tala (d. 551), to whom Ibn Khair read it over in Shilb. He got it from Abu 'Ali Husain b. Muhammad b. Fira al-Sadafi, known as Ibn Sukkara (452-514), reading it over to him in the congregational mosque in Murcia during 24 days of Ramadan, 512. He uses *haddathani bihi*⁷⁸.

edición y dirección de J. Lirola Delgado y J. M. Puerta Vilchez, Almería, I, n° 576, pp. 338-339; and **GUICHARD, P.** (1991) *Les musulmans de Valence et la reconquête (XIe-XIIIe siècles)*, 2 vols., Damasco, II: 315, 317. Cited by **ARCAS CAMPOY, María** (2010). La Calle Abenhalaj. In: Clavis, N° 6, pp. 33-44

⁷⁸ **ROBSON, J.** (1954). The Transmission of Tirmidhi's "Jami". In: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. University of London, Vol. 16, N° 2, pp. 258-270. Cited on p. 262

3.4 1120 Abu Ya'qub Yintan ibn Ali

The Battle of Cutanda or Batalla de Cutanda was a battle in June of 1120 between the forces of Alfonso I the Battler and army led by Ibrahim ibn Yusuf occurring in a place called Cutanda, near Calamocha (Teruel), in which the Almoravid army was defeated by the combined forces mainly of Aragon and Navarra.



Landscape of the Battle of Cutanda

In the battle of Cutanda fell a great number of Murcians who had joined an army sent too late to the Aragonese border trying to stop the Christian advance in that region. At the head of the army was Ibn Ta'yast, that time governor of Seville, while the governor of Murcia was Abu Ya'qub Yintan ibn Ali.

The most illustrious Murcian who was killed in Cutanda was the famous Abu Ali al-Sadafi (1052-1120), an outstanding teacher in Quranic sciences. He counted among his students the governor of Murcia Ibn Ta'yast. To prepare the battle of Cutanda he moved to Xativa giving a harangue to the soldiers in favour of the holy war. He was a native of Saragossa, but had settled in Murcia in 1102 after studying in Valencia, Almeria,

and the East. He was appointed qadi for some time, but resigned to devote himself exclusively to teaching, with which he had an extraordinary success, with disciples coming to listen to him from far and wide. Most of his books have been lost⁷⁹. Rachid el Hours studied the way of life of the qadis in the Almoravid period, among them that of Abu ‘Ali al-Sadafi⁸⁰:

On the other hand, the same sources inform us about other individuals who possessed all the necessary prerequisites for *qadiship*, but nevertheless refused to occupy it. For example, Abu ‘Ali al-Sadaf (also known as Ibn Sukkara) refused to have a say in politics in the Almoravid period. The decision to appoint Ibn Sukkara was taken by the population of Murcia. The Arabic sources stress that he was obliged to take the position of *qadi* in Murcia, which he did for a short time. Yaquṭ quotes the letter that Ibn Sukkara sent to the Almoravid emir. In this letter, he explains why he renounced the *qadiship* of Murcia. Abu ‘Ali al-Sadafi Ibn Sukkara did not want to be involved in the “injustices” committed by politicians or magistrates whose victim was the Andalusī population. Ibn ‘Atiyya, a contemporary of Ibn Sukkara’s, tells us that the latter’s exercise of the *qadiship* of Murcia uncovered how badly the judicial administration of the city was functioning; and it caused problems for the *qadiz* who succeeded him: “*Sara fi-hi siratan fadahat man kana qabla-hu wa-at’abat man ja’a ba’da-hu*”

This example illustrates to what extent the *qadi* could form part of a “corrupt judicial system”. Without a doubt, Ibn Sukkara’s renunciation can be considered as a sincere protest against the judicial system or against the Almoravid political system in general. However, it was not the same with other *qadis* who agreed to support the politics of the Almoravid state. The most relevant cases are those of Abu Bakr b. al-‘Arabi and Abu Bakr b. Aswad al-Ghassani. Ibn Sukkara was forced to become a *qadi* by the people of Murcia.

Furthermore, we had in Murcia Āhmed, son of Ibrahim, Abenlaila Alansarī, a native of Granada, who was Qadi in Xilba

⁷⁹ PUENTE GONZÁLEZ, Cristina de la (1999) Obras transmitidas en Al-Andalus por Abu ‘Ali al-Sadafi. In: Al-qantara: Revista de estudios árabes, Vol. 20, Fasc. 1, 1999, pp. 195-200

⁸⁰ EL HOUR, Rachid (2000) *The Andalusian Qadi in the Almoravid Period: Political and Judicial Authority*. In: Studia Islamica, No 90, pp. 67-83. Citation on p. 71

and lived a long time in Murcia, distinguishing himself as a traditionalist until his death in the year of the disaster of Cutanda, in which the famous Abualí Asadafi died⁸¹.

3.4.1 Al-Nafzî al-Mursî

‘Abd Allâh b. Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allâh b. Muhammad; Abû Muhammad; al-Nafzî al-Mursî. He took this name because of its origin as a Murcian: he was austere in his habits and very pious. Aben Jair appoints him as author of a *Fihrist*. A. Alabbar says that he left over 15 works, mostly about ascetics⁸².

3.4.2 Al-Nafzi al-Mursi

The theologist Al-Nafzi al-Mursi was born in Murcia in 1061. He lived a large part of his life in Ceuta and Cordova. He studied with Ibn Baskuwal in Cordova and died in the same city⁸³.

3.4.3 Ibn Waddah

Abu Ga’far Ahmad ibn Maslama ibn Muhammad al-Mursi, who died in ca. 1136, excelled in the genre *wasf* (description). Two of his brief compositions are known; the first describing a water-wheel, the other a cypress:

Oh the one weeping while the garden laughs,
Whenever it spills o’er it its flowing tears:
What startles one who looks at it is this:

⁸¹ **GASPAR REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*, Zaragoza, p. 157

⁸² **PONS BOIGUES, Francisco** (1898) *Historiadores y geógrafos arabigo-españoles*. Madrid, N° 164, p. 205

⁸³ **MARIN, Manuel & FELIPE, Helena de** (1995) *Onomástico-biográficos de Al-Andalus*, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid, p. 237

The lion's roar and the writhing of serpents!
It fashions silver ingots from the water of the pond,
And makes them grow in the gardens in the shape of dirhems!

Oh cypress, ay your field be always sprinkled by rains,
May the fresh drops of dew shine always on your leaves!
Your flanks are covered with a kingly banner,
Like a lance which is wrapped up in green flags⁸⁴!

Irrigation in medieval Spain was of two sorts. The simpler was gravitational: the downward flow of water from its source in river or cistern was also controlled by means of a network of canals and sluices. The more complex was powered: water was raised artificially from its source by means of a wheel fitted with scoops or buckets, and then distributed as required. This was the mode of irrigation celebrated by, among others, the poet Ibn Waddah of Murcia (d.1136) in his poem 'Waterwheel'⁸⁵.

3.4.4 A remarkable woman in Murcia

María Luisa Ávila mentions the following remarkable woman in those years⁸⁶:

Fàtima (Jadiya) bint Abi 'Ali Husayn b. Muhammad b. Fierro b. Hayyun al-Sadafi al-Mursi Ibn Sukkara (d. 590/1193)⁸⁷.

⁸⁴ **NYKL, Alois Richard** (1946). *Hispano-arabic poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours*.

⁸⁵ **FLETCHER, Richard A.** (1989). *The Quest for El Cid*, p. 18.

⁸⁶ **ÁVILA, María Luisa** (1989). Las mujeres "sabias" en Al-Andalus. In: *La mujer en al-Andalus: reflejos históricos de su actividad y categorías sociales*. Edition de María J. Viguera. Madrid, Sevilla, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, pp. 139-184. Citation on pp. 151-152.

⁸⁷ **IBN AL-ABBAR.** (1887). *Al-Takmila li-kitab al-Sila*. Ed. F. Codera, en BAH, v. V-VI, Madrid. Edition M. Alarcón and C.A. Gonzalez Palencia, in: *Miscelânea de Estudios y textos árabes*, Madrid, 1915, pp. 147-690. See BAH, N°. 2121, ed. Alarcón, p. 610.

She was from Murcia, although their ancestors were from Zaragoza. Her father (62) left her when he left for the *algazûa* of Cutanda where he died, never to know her grief of his departure. She was a pious woman, ascetic (*zâhida*), knew the Koran by heart and the Hadith very well. She had a beautiful handwriting and confronted books. She married (*tazawwaya-hâ*) the *sâhib al-salâ* of Murcia Abû Muhammad ‘Abd Allâh b. Mûsâ b. Burtuluh by whom she had several children. One of them was ‘Abd al-Rahman. She died at over eighty years of age.

Her father was the famous Abû ‘Ali al-Sadafî⁸⁸. Ibn al-Abbâr wrote a *Mu’yam* about his followers. Her husband was one of the followers of her father. He went to the East on pilgrimage and returned to Murcia where he was in charge of the prayer. It was in that time that he married the daughter of his master⁸⁹. Her son ‘Abd al-Rahmân was from Murcia and he studied in Jativa, Valencia, Sevilla and Cordoba. He was qadi of Denia⁹⁰.

3.4.5 Al-A‘mas al-Tutili

Abu al-Abbâs Ahmad b. Abdullah b. Abi Hurayra al-Qaysi, also known as Al-A‘mas al-Tutili, deceased in 1126 and was nicknamed *The Blind Man of Tudela*. He was one of the most renowned composers of muwassahat. He was one of the best

IBN ‘ABD AL-MALIK AL-MARRAKUSI, *Al-Dayl wa-l-takmila*. V. I-1-2, VIII-2, ed. M. IBN SARIFA, Beirut, (Without year). V. VI y V-1-2, ed. I. ‘ABBAS, Beirut, 1964 y 1965. See VIII-2, N° 267.

⁸⁸ **IBN BASKUWÂL**, *Kilâb al-Sila*, ed. F. Codera y J. Ribera, in BAH, v. I-II, Madrid, 1882-1883. See N° 327.

⁸⁹ **IBN AL-ABBAR**. (1887). *Al-Takmila li-kitab al-Sila*. Ed. F. Codera, en BAH, v. V-VI, Madrid. Edition M. Alarcón and C.A. Gonzalez Palencia, in: *Miscelânea de Estudios y textos ârabes*, Madrid, 1915, pp. 147-690. See BAH, N° 1384.

IBN AL-ABBAR. *Al-Mu’yam fi ashâb al-qâdi l-imân Abi ‘Ali al-Sadafi*, Ed. F. Codera in BAH, v. IV. Madrid, 1885. See N° 206.

⁹⁰ **IBN AL-ABBAR**. (1887). *Al-Takmila li-kitab al-Sila*. Ed. F. Codera, en BAH, v. V-VI, Madrid. Edition M. Alarcón and C.A. Gonzalez Palencia, in: *Miscelânea de Estudios y textos ârabes*, Madrid, 1915, pp. 147-690. See BAH, N° 1624.

poets of his time in the field of moaxaja - composition in verses which, on occasions, ended with some romantic verses and this gave origin to the way of zéjel. The poet dedicates images to the singing of the vicissitudes of love and the wine that possesses enormous vitality and great expressive force. For a long time he lived in Murcia and especially in Sevilla⁹¹.

Spilled tears, burning heart:
Water and fire;
Always opposite, other than in passion.
Oh, my darling, the reproach of the critic is cruel!
The life is shorter, the fatigues longer.
Sighs that preach the hugging passion!
And tears that run like a flood!

Sleep is useless, the date far;
I have no rest.
If I could find the branch, I would fly.

O Ka'aba, the hearts peregrinate to you,
With clamorous longing answered by love.
You called a repentant to come back to you.
Here I am, deaf to the speech of the spy.

Let me go and pray,
Don't be evasive;
My heart is the prize, the tears my offerings.
Welcome it is, although I die for her,
Of proud hips and languid eyelids.
The cruelty in love looks like sweetness,
And it teaches to do wrong to the thought.

Fled from those nights, short for me.

⁹¹ **REINO, Manuel Francisco** (2007) *Antología de la Poesía andalusí*. Biblioteca Edaf. Madrid, pp. 385-386

My tears since then emanate,
a sword sting between the eyelids.
(....)

3.4.6 Al-Banya

The cloths fabricated in the denominated al-Banyala were objects of export that was distributed even as far as the Islamic Orient⁹².

3.4.7 Abanilla

According to Felix Ponzoa Cebrian the Arabic name for Abanilla was Angebala⁹³. However, other recent writers state – without giving exact references - that the first mention of the population of Abanilla was from the 12th century thanks to al-Idrisi. This geographer mentions the marvellous textiles that are manufactured in *Albanyala*, *Albayada* o *Banyaliya*, the different denominations of Abanilla during the Muslim domination.

3.4.8 The revolution of 1121 and other facts

In 1121 a terrible revolution promoted by Mohamed Abenmmart broke out in Africa in which, posing as the Mahdi announced by Muhammad and having fanaticized the tribes of inhabitants of the Moroccan Atlas Mountains with his religious reform, he began to throw them against the Almoravide empire, proclaiming sole government by God and the abolition of the illicit prescriptions and customs and giving his addicts the name of Almohades (unitary).

⁹² MARTÍNEZ LÓPEZ, José Antonio & MUNUERA NAVARRO, David (2008) *Por tierra de castillos. Guía de las fortificaciones medievales de la Región de Murcia y rutas por sus antiguos caminos*. Murcia, p. 119

⁹³ PONZOA CEBRIAN, Felix (1845) *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en Murcia*, pp. 18-20

From September 1124 to about May 1125 Alfonso the Battler undertook a massive raid through Valencia, Murcia, Córdoba, and Granada, and succeeded in leading a high number of Mozarabs back to Aragón, allegedly no less than 10,000 Andalusian Christian families whom he settled in the Ebro Valley.

From 1125 to 1126 Alfonso the Battler was campaigning against Granada where he was trying to install a Christian prince, and Córdoba. In September Alfonso I of Aragon set out south with an army of 4,000 knights. He traveled down the east coast, bypassed the cities of Todmir, and ravaged through the countryside. Alfonso the Battler proposed to invade the Muslim lands again in 1129, and the inhabitants feared that his raid would be as severe as that of 1125 to 1126. The emir reinforced the garrisons with a contingent of blacks. The city of Fez paid and fed three hundred of them. Black recruits were gathered in Murcia under the command of caid Yaddar ibn Warqa; ruling in Valencia. The entire Muslim army was under the command of Yahyh ibn al-Hajj, who was governor of Seville (1129-1130). Alfonso the Battler was in Cullera (near Alcira) where the two armies met, and the Muslims were defeated; the vanquished were persecuted and their weapons, baggage, saddles, and horses fell into Christian hands. Among prisoners, the dead, and the injured perished more than 12,000 Muslims.

The news about any governor of Murcia is very scarce. In 1131 the new governor of Valencia was Yintan ibn Ali succeeding the deceased Muhammad Yidar⁹⁴.

⁹⁴ <http://cronologiahistorica.com/>
A second reliable reference is necessary.



Before the audience (Jean Lèon Gérôme)

3.4.9 Elche

Muhammad ibn Mûsa ibn Jalâf Al-Wasqî; of kunya: Abû ‘Abd Allâh. He learnt from Abû Dawûd Al-Muqrî and doing the peregrination trip he encountered Ibn Al-Fahâm, whose teachings he followed. He went back to Al-Andalus and established himself in Elche. He was named leader of Friday

prayer and preached (*al-jutba*) in his mosque. In it he also taught the Quran readings. Unfortunately he became blind at the end of his life and died before 530 (1135-1136). This information is picked up by Abû ‘Abd Allâh Al-Maknasî, and from Abû-l-Hayyây ibn ‘Ayûb⁹⁵.

⁹⁵ **BERNABE PONS, Luis Fernando** (1990) *Personajes relacionados con Elche en la obra de Ibn-Al-Abbar*. In: *Ibn Al-Abbar. Polític i escriptor àrab Valencià (1199-1260)*. Actes del Congrés Internacional “Ibn Al-Abbar i el seu temps”. Onda, 20-22 febrer, 1989. Generalidad Valenciana, pp. 69-86. Citation on pp. 83-84

3.4.10 1131-1133 Ibn Badr ibn Warqa

Pierre Guichard states that there were no dedicated governors for Murcia in the latest 15 years of the Almoravid regimen. The two Almoravid leaders in charge of the Sarq were successively Abu Muhammad ibn Badr ibn Warqa and from 1133 Yahya ibn Ali ibn Ganiya. They were resident predominantly in Valencia⁹⁶.

Ibn Warqa had a skirmish in earlier times with the troops of Alfonso I the Battler. This took place in Valencia on 20 October 1125. However, this skirmish was but short-lived. At the time he had the title of cheikh⁹⁷. According to Ubieta Arteta, Muhammad ibn Yidar disappeared in the year of the death of Gaston de Bearn (1130) and was replaced by his son Yintán ibn ‘Ali al-Lamtuni⁹⁸.

3.4.11 Al-Mansur b. Muhammad Ibn al-Hayy

Al-Mansur b. Muhammad Ibn al-Hayy⁹⁹ was Wali of Malaga where he held out faithfully to the Almoravid cause until Ibn

⁹⁶ **GUICHARD, Pierre** (1980) *Murcia Musulmana (siglos IX al XIII)*. In: *Historia de la Región Murciana, Volume III*, p. 176

⁹⁷ **VARIOS AUTORES** (1981) *Historia de Aragón, Volume I*, Anubar Ediciones, Zaragoza, p. 173

⁹⁸ **GUICHARD, Pierre** (2001) *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista cristiana: los musulmanes de Valencia*. Biblioteca Nueva. Universidad de Valencia, p. 113

UBIETO ARTETA, Antonio (1981) *Historia de Aragón, Vol. I*, p. 188

⁹⁹ **AL-DABBI** (1884) *Bugyat al-multamis fi ta'rij ahl al-Andalus*, ed. De F. Codera y J. Ribera, Biblioteca Árabe-Hispan, III, 32-3;

CONDE, J.A. (1874) *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en España*, sacada de varios manuscritos y memorias árabigas, Editorial Maxtor Valladolid, 2001 (reprint), p. 223. Cited by **ARCAS CAMPOY, María** (2010) *La Calle Abenhalaj*. In: Clavis, N° 6, pp. 33-44

Hassun's¹⁰⁰ arrival in 1145, who remained independent for a year with the title of emir. According to Gaspar and Remiro, al-Mansur b. Muhammad Ibn al-Hajj was deputy of the governor of Murcia Ibn Ganiya¹⁰¹.

Professor Emilio Martínez discusses in his book the tombstone of an unknown Muslim (526/1132) in the castle of Priego (Moratalla)¹⁰².



Castle of Pliego

3.4.12 Ibn Saada, a Sufi in Murcia.

Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Yusuf Ibn Saada¹⁰³ was an inhabitant of Xativa, but his ancestors dwelt in Valencia.

¹⁰⁰ **VIGUERA MOLINS, M.J.** (1992) *Los reinos de taifas y las invasiones magrebíes (Al-Andalus del XI al XIII)*, Editorial Mapfre, Madrid, 191, pp. 193-194

¹⁰¹ **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*. Zaragoza : Tip. de Andrés Uriarte, p. 155

¹⁰² **MARTÍNEZ ENAMORADO, Emilio** (2009) *Inscripciones árabes de la Region de Murcia*, p. 355

Having received lessons in his native place from many men distinguished for learning, he travelled to the western provinces of Spain for the same purpose. In 520/1126 he journeyed to the East, and there cultivated jurisprudence and other branches of knowledge.

He made the pilgrimage in the following year, and on his return to Egypt, he frequented the society of Abu Tahir Ibn Auf, as-Silafi and other illustrious doctors. In the ear 526/1132 he returned to Murcia with a vast stock of information in the Traditions, Koran-reading, koranic interpretation, law, philology and scholasti theology. He had a inclination for Sufism. Being appointed member of the town council and preacher at the great mosque of Murcia, he began to teach the Traditions and jurisprudence, and he exercised the functions of *kadi* in the same city till the downfal of the Almoravides.

He then passed to the kadiship of Xativa, and taught Traditions not only there, but in Murcia and Valencia, in which places also he filled the office of *Khatib*, or public preacher. Previously to this, he had taught Traditions at Almeria. He died at Xativa on the last day of Zu 'l-Hijja, in the year 565/1170, leaving one single work. He was born in the month of Ramadan, in the year 596/1103.

We learn from Asín Palacios¹⁰⁴ that in the twelfth century a disciple of al-Ghazali (1058-1111) called Ibn Sa'ada wrote a Sufi book entitled *Shajarah al-Wahm al-mutaraqqiyya ila Durwah al-Fahm* (*Tree of the Imagination by Which One Ascends to the Path of Intellection*) in Murcia.

¹⁰³ **IBN KHALLIKAN** (1843). Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary, Volume 2, p. 501.

¹⁰⁴ Cfr. *Tecmila*, b. 746, p. 225. See: **ASÍN PALACIOS, Miguel** (1914) *Abenmasarra y su escuela*. Orígenes de la filosofía Hispano-Musulmana. Madrid, E. Maestre, p. 162

3.4.13 A remarkable man in Murcia

María Luisa Ávila Navarro mentions the following remarkable men in those years¹⁰⁵:

Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmân b . ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b . Jalifa b. Abi l-‘Afiya al-Azdi, Grenadian originating from Cutanda, he lived in Murcia, Malaga, and later in Granada and Almuñécar. He lived between 507/1113 and 583-84 / 1187-88.

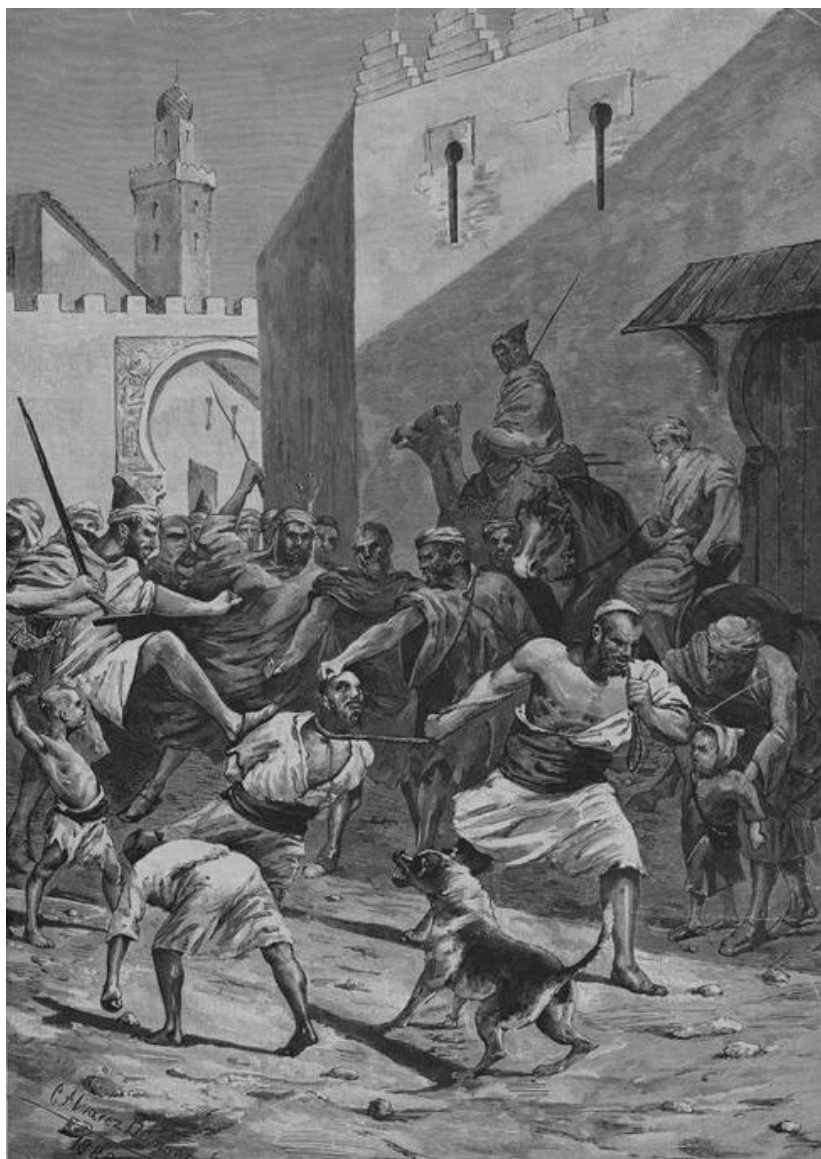
3.4.14 Other famous personas in Orihuela

According to Gaspar Remiro we had the following famous persona in Orihuela in those years¹⁰⁶:

Abuamru Zeyad was the son of Mohámed, son of Ahmed, Abenassafar, from Orihuela, fellow student of the biographer and historian Adabí, who praises his great knowledge of tradition, history, Koran, and literature. He died in Orihuela in 1131 or 1132.

¹⁰⁵ **ÁVILA NAVARRO, María Luisa** (1989) *Las mujeres “sabias” en Al-Andalus*. In: *La mujer en al-Andalus: reflejos históricos de su actividad y categorías sociales*. Edition de María J. Viguera. Madrid, Sevilla, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, pp. 139-184. Citation on p. 168

¹⁰⁶ **GASPAR REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*, Zaragoza, p. 158



**Religious punishment to those who do not meet the fast in Ramadan
(Engraving of César Alvarez Dumont, 1888)**

3.5 1133-1144 Yahya ibn ‘Ali Ganiya

Pierre Guichard states that as from 1133 Yahya ibn Ali ibn Ganiya was the latest Almoravid leader with regards to Valencia and Murcia. After 1133 he had his residence principally in Valencia¹⁰⁷.

A notice from Ibn ‘Idari refers to November 1, 1133: “This year Yahya ibn ‘Ali ibn Ganiya, governor of Valencia and Murcia, defended the crops on the border. He sent his watchmen who returned to announce him the advance of the enemy army that was underway to attack the country of Islam. He followed them until reaching them, and Allah annihilated them. He freed the captives and got loot¹⁰⁸.”

In this year the government of Marrakech moved Yahya ibn ‘Ali Ganiya from Murcia to Valencia¹⁰⁹. ‘Ali Ganiya was probably governor of Murcia earlier than 1133.

Abu Zakariyya Yahyà b. Ganiya appointed Abu Bakr ‘Atiq b. Asad b. ‘Abd al-Rahman b. Asad Al-Ansari, born in Iniesta and raised in Murcia, qadi of Jativa and Acira. We so observe the great influence of b. Ganiya and the judicial dependence of Jativa with respect to Murcia. Abu Zakariyya Yahyà b. Ganiya also appointed Ibn ‘Asir as qadi of Murcia¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁷ **GUICHARD, Pierre** (1980) *Murcia Musulmana (siglos IX al XIII)*. In: Historia de la Región Murciana, Volume III, p. 176

¹⁰⁸ **VARIOS AUTORES** (1981) *Historia de Aragón*, Volume I, Anubar Ediciones, Zaragoza, p. 192

¹⁰⁹ **GUICHARD, Pierre** (2001) *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista cristiana: los musulmanes de Valencia*. Biblioteca Nueva. Universidad de Valencia, p. 113

¹¹⁰ **HOOR, Rachid El** (2016) *De nuevo sobre la organización de la justicia en El Levante andalusí en el periodo almorávide*. El caso de Alcira. In: Anaquel de Estudios Árabes, vol. 27, pp. 29-41. Citation on pp. 35 and 36

3.5.1 The Banú Abi Yamra.

The importance of this family in the region of Murcia remains manifest by the fact that a historian of the stature of Ibn Hayyan wrote a play about them, *al-Intijab al-yami‘ li-ma ‘atir Bani Jattab*. Less significant is the fact that a second book about this family exists, *al-I‘lam fi l-ta‘rif bi-Bani Abi Yamra al-a‘lam*, because the author is one of the Banu Abi Yamra, Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Ahmad.

A distinguished member of this family was:

Ahmad b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Musà b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Walid b. Muhammad b. Walid b. Marwan b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muhammad b. Marwan b. Jattab b. ‘Abd al-Yabbar b. Jattab b. Marwan b. Nadir, Abu l-‘Abbas, Ibn Abi Yamra.

He was from Murcia, a relative and disciple of Abu Ya‘far b. ‘Abd al-Rahman. He studied in al-Andalus with several teachers. He was an in-law of Abu l-Walid al-Bayi, father of Abu Bakr Muhammad. He transmits the *Mudawwana* going back to his ancestor ‘Abd al-Malik. He was the substitute of the qadi Abu Umayya Ibn ‘Isám (m. 516/ 1122) in Murcia when the latter was absent and he was qadi in Elche. He lived in Denia for some time. He died in Murcia on the 4th of *ramadan* of 533 (May 5, 1139) at around 90 years of age. He was buried in his mosque in front of the tombs of his father and grandfather. Before he died he expressed a wish that his funeral prayers be read by the *imam* of his mosque Isma‘il b. Ahmad al-‘Abdari, but during the funeral the qadi ‘Ásir b. Muhammad offered the possibility of reading the prayers to the son of the deceased, Abu Bakr Muhammad, who should have been fifteen at the

time. The son, knowing his father's wish, declined the invitation and let Isma'il b. Ahmad to read the prayers¹¹¹.



Elche and its palms

3.5.2 Alhama

The more concrete reference to the castle of Alhama in the Islamic period is that of Ceutan geographer al-Idrisi, who on his journey through the valley of Guadalentín indicated that "he who wants to go from Murcia to Almeria has to cross Qantara Askaba ("Bridge Askaba" or Alcantarilla), Hisn Librala

¹¹¹ **MOLINA, Luis** (1992) *Los banu Jattab y los Banu Abi Yamra (Siglos II-VIII/VIII-XIV)*. In: Estudios onomástico-biográficos de Al-Andalus, Vol. 5, pp. 289-307. Citation on pp. 292 y 297

("Librilla's Castle"), Hisn al-Hamma ("Castle of the Thermal Bath" or Alhama) and Lurqa (Lorca) (...) ¹¹²".

Since Idrisi only mentioned the place as his hisn (castle) in general, it is clear that the castle already existed under the Almoravide domain of al-Andalus ¹¹³.

At the foot of Sierra de la Muela, one of the last foothills of Sierra Espuña, is located the town of Alhama de Murcia next to Cerro del Castillo, occupying a central position in the current Region of Murcia.

¹¹² **AL-IDRISI, Abû Abd-allâ Mohamed** (1866) *Nuzhat al-Mustaq*. Ed. y trad. francesa de DOZY, R. y GOEJE, M.J. DE (1866): Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne. Leiden (2^a edición en 1968), p. 239. Trad. española del 5º clima por SAAVEDRA, E. Madrid, 1981. Trad. parcial española por BLÁZQUEZ, A. Madrid, 1901

¹¹³ **BAÑOS SERRANO, José** (2006) *El sector del cerro del Castillo de Alhama de Murcia*. Un asentamiento entre la antigüedad tardía y el mundo islámico. In: Espacio y tiempo en la percepción de la Antigüedad Tardía Antig. Crist. (Murcia) XXIII, pp. 81-100, cited on p. 83



The Castle of Alama
(CC BY-SA 3.0) Photo: Glarrocha

In Arabic texts known to date the following references were provided to us by the geographer al-Idrīsī with a more specific reference that mentions the castle of Alhama quoting it in his itinerary through the valley of Guadalentín “*whoever wants to go from Murcia to Almeria must go through Qanṭarat Aškāba (Askaba Bridge or Alcantarilla), Hiṣn L.brāla (Castle of Librilla), Hiṣn al-Hāmma (Castle of Thermal Baths or Alhama), and the city of Lūrqa (Lorca)...*”, so it seems that he referred to the current fortification in the southern part of Cerro, i.e. the *hisn* (Castle or fortress); this quote must be planted in the context of the first half of the twelfth century and the fortified place known today as Castillo de Alhama under Almoravid rule over al-Andalus.

Both the architectural remains and the ceramic and numismatic materials do not allow (for now) dating its medieval occupation to before the eleventh century, so we deduce that its

construction in the Islamic period should be dated in the context of political developments in those convulsive dates and within a wider dynamic fortification of rural communities to protect the new inhabitants of the territory, and in the increased intensity of its occupation and create a series of irrigated perimeters in the vicinity of the population. And they were created in those times, as would be the case of Alhama.

It would be a citation with the two currently most known references of Alhama de Murcia as are the Baths and the Castle in full apogee in these years. However, there doesn't seem to be any reference to the ancient settlement which, located in the northern sector of the Cerro Del Castillo, had been abandoned in the tenth century and subdued years before; its old walls were no longer a threat to the new power. On top of the old building of baths in the southern part of Cerro del Castillo a fortification was built in the eleventh century, taking advantage of the natural and vertical rocky escarpment on the eastern side and erecting an imposing wall on the western side¹¹⁴.

Although this area is important in terms of thermal manifestations such as Fortuna, Archena, Mula, or Alhama, there are still few studies related to this topic, now that the need to investigate the sources of thermal baths and their archaeological and historical evolution throughout the time is considered, taking into account the civic and social significance they have had for the populations in all historical periods¹¹⁵.

¹¹⁴ **BAÑOS SERRANO, José** (2006) El sector norte del cerro del castillo de Alhama de Murcia. Un asentamiento entre la antigüedad tardía y el mundo islámico. In: Espacio y tiempo en la percepción de la Antigüedad Tardía. Antig. Crist. (Murcia), XIII, pp. 81-100

¹¹⁵ **BAÑOS SERRANO, José** (1995) Los baños terminales minero-medicinales de Alhama de Murcia. In: Memoria de Arqueología, pp. 354-381



The Health Resort in Alama, 1848

3.5.3 Librilla

The Librilla Castle is at the current center of the town at the highest point of the hill where the center of the town was located, which is still bound by the area where the boulevard of Oron or Librilla sits and the ramblizo of Cava. The place with the built fortification was a strategic point from which there was key access to the valley of Guadalentín, a major orographic accident that was used as a means of communication between the eastern and southern Spain, and at some historical stages was also a coastal border area between the plains and the interior.

Access to the place where the fortification once stood is made from the center of town to which we will arrive from the highway N-340 (E-15). Once there, and after crossing the

stunning promenade through a bridge, the Church Square would become one of the central areas of the castle.

3.5.3.1 Few remainders today

The Librilla Castle is currently buried under the urban population center. In the highest part of the town some elements and the intricacies of the street seem to remind us that there once stood a fortress with walls, gates, towers, and battlements that have disappeared.

The defensive structures had to adapt to the summit of the hill where the current Metropolitan area of Librilla is located, so the more clearly visible element of all poorly preserved ones turns out to be a cubic fortified tower hanging over the ravine of Oron.



Librilla

The origin of Librilla's stronghold must be dated back to around the eleventh century. Al Idrisi, an important Muslim geographer, mentioned in the twelfth century a place called *hisn Limbraya*, attesting the existence of a fortification which centralized the surrounding countryside, structuring various aspects of everyday life of the Andalusian southeast. A *hisn* was a defensive position that in case of danger could house the dispersed population which dedicated to agricultural work worked in the fields. It was therefore a place of refuge for people and livestock that in this case controlled an important means of communication.

3.5.4 Murcia

Fatima bint Abi 'Ali Husayn b. Muhammad b. Fierro b. Hayyun al-Sadafi al-Mursi ibn Sukkara (d. 590/1116-1193), daughter of Abu 'Ali al-Sadafi, was married to Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah b. Musa b. Burtuluh (d. 563/1167).

Fatima inherited her father's qualities and is described as a pious and ascetic woman who memorized the Koran and knew a lot of the hadiz. We know that she lived long, her husband was 26 years older, and they had 2 sons¹¹⁶.

3.5.4.1 Ibn Burtuluh

Ibn Burtuluh studied in Murcia as a disciple of Abu Ali al-Sadafi. Thereafter he began his journey to the East and fulfilled the precept of making a pilgrimage to Mecca. During his stay in Alexandria he received the teachings of the most important

¹¹⁶ AGUILAR, Victoria (2016). Fatima, Amat al-Rahman y otras mujeres en el mundo del saber de Murcia en el siglo XII. In: IX Congreso International AUDEM. Universidad de Murcia. Facultad de Letras. M^a Gloria Ríos Guardiola, M^a Belén Hernández González, Encarna Esteban Bernabé (eds.), pp. 27-46. Citation on pp. 31-32.

teachers who were in the city at that time. On his return to Murcia of which we do not know the date, he was commissioned to the post of director of the Friday prayers in the city mosque. Abu Muhammad Ibn Burtuluh is described as an excellent teacher with great humility and nobility. He was elected by his fellow citizens as imam. Ibn al-Abbar mentions him as a contemporary of Ibn Abd al-Haqq 'Atiyya and Yusuf Ibn al-Dabbagh¹¹⁷.

3.5.4.2 Al-Buqaira (d. 1135) from Murcia

The Camomile

When first we parted, she
Wept unrestrainedly;
Fate repenting yet,
In after time we met.
When she was at my side,
'Did those rains' I cried
(Seeing her sweetly smile)
'Produce this camomile?'

The Bow

Ah, my heart grieves
At the hateful bow,
Dísloyal so

¹¹⁷ **ÁVILA, María Luisa** (1989) *Las mujeres "sabias" en Al-Andalus*. In: *La mujer en al-Andalus: reflejos históricos de su actividad y categorías sociales*. Ed. M^a J. Viguera. Madrid, Sevilla, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Editoriales Andaluzas Unidas, pp. 139-184. Citation on p. 157

AGUILAR, Victoria (1995) *Tres generaciones y varios siglos de historia: Los Banu Burtuluh de Murcia*. In: *Estudios onomástico-biográficos de al-Andalus*, VII, Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, Madrid, pp. 19-40. Citations on pp. 22-23

ABU BAKR AL-TURTUSI (1993) *Kitab al-Hawadit Wa-l-bida' (El libro de las novedades y las innovaciones)*. Traducción y estudio: Maribel Fierro. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto de Cooperación con el mundo Árabe, p. 92

To the doves in the leaves.

Once Warmly befriending,
Now full of spice:
The fates delight
In such an ending.

The Singer

Did I aught else but utter
The praises of your name,
Well content to flutter
In your tree of fame?
If you now deny me
The shelter of your wing,
And no more stand by me,
How then shall I sing?¹¹⁸

3.5.5 Abû Muhammad ‘Abd Allâh Ibn Burtuluh

Again Ibn Burtuluh, but this time there is more information. This man took on the trip to the Orient in 1116 due to religious and formative reasons. When he returned to Murcia he was put in charge of the Friday prayers in the aljama mosque of the city. It is not possible to precisely state the date of his return and naming. It was then when he married his master's daughter Jadîya bint Abî ‘Alî al-Sadafî. We can guess that his birth was around 510/ 1116 when Ibn initiated his peregrination, because he died in 590/1194, having reached 77 years of age. Ibn al-Abbâr informs us that Jadîya gave Abû Muhammad Ibn Burruluh two sons. The name and activity of one of them is unknown. The second one was Abû Bakr Ibn Burguluh, who was born in 547/ 1152 when his father was 63 and his mother

¹¹⁸ **IBN SA’ID** (1953). Moorish Poetry. Translated by A.J. Arberry.

36. The age at which many "ulemas" from Andaluc  a had their first son was not very early.

Ab   Muhammad Ibn Burtuluh is described as an excellent teacher, adorned with the attributes of modesty, humility, and nobility. Besides his good diction and an impeccable behavior that reflected his good character these qualities led his fellow citizens to choose him as *im  m* - a title which he bore until his death. It seems that he achieved perfection in his work as the director of prayers, and was also devoted to teaching the citizens of Murcia. Ibn al-Abb  r mentions him as a contemporary of ‘Abd al-Haqq Ibn ‘Atiyya and Y  suf Ibn al-Dabb  g. Although his repercussion was not as wide as the one of these two Maliki traditionalists, the doors to his house were open to receive disciples such as Ibn ‘Ayy  d. They also transmitted a nephew of Ibn Sukkara from him, and Ab   Muhammad Ibn al-Im  m, traditionalist who belonged to the Z  hir   School. Ibn al-Abb  r followed by al-Maqqar   attributed two transmissions to him, the first one copied from the handwriting of Ibn ‘Ayy  d who was heard from his master Ibn Burtuluh at the same time. The first arrived to him by ‘Abd All  h al-R  z  , master of Ibn Burtuluh, who had taken it from his father, and it describes a reprimand that the pious *q  d  * of al-Barallis received that night when he went to the Nile to do his prayers by a voice without being able to discover to whom it belonged. The second had been transmitted by Ab   ‘  mir Ibn al-Lab  t  , brother of the teacher Ab   Bakr al-Lab  t  , about certain verses of Ab   Bakr b. Ab   Dirham al-Wasq   that were found engraved in stone on the Superior Border, which manifested his wish to go back to his homeland after doing the peregrination. He died in Murcia in 563/1167 at the advanced age of 78¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁹ AGUILAR, Victoria (1995) *Tres generaciones y varios siglos de historia: Los Ban   Burtuluh de Murcia*. In: Estudios Onom  stico-Biog  ficos de Al-  ndalus (E.O.B.A.), Volume VII, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cient  ficas, Madrid, pp. 19-40. Citation on 20-23

Other members in Murcia were Abû Bakr ‘Abd al-Rahmân Ibn Burtuluh and Abû Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmân Ibn Burtuluh, as well as Muhammad b. Sulaymân b. Mûsà b. Sulaymân al-Azdî, Abû ‘Abd Allâh, known as Ibn Burtuluh of Murcia¹²⁰

3.5.5.1 Ibn al-Dabag

Ibn al-Dabagh was born in 481 (1088) in Onda, although he lived in Murcia. He was a fine connoisseur of traditions of Muhammad, men and remains of it, so he was considered the *term and crowning of traditionalists of Spain*.

He was appointed as Ministerior for preaching in his country for some time, and died in 546 (1151).

In Ibn Jair people speak of a composition of his titled *Fihrist*. And the author cites another treaty called *Obscurities and ambiguities*. At *Mocham* and in the *Takmila* of Ibn al-Abbar two works are mentioned, titled *Traditionalists Classes* and *Major Legal Advisers’ Classes*, which are attributed to *Ibn Addabag* who we assume must be identified with the one taking the role of the subject of this article. *Dsahabî* is attributed a treatise on *hadith names*¹²¹.

¹²⁰ **CARMONA, Alfonso** (2000) *El saber y el poder: Ulemas levantinos de época de Ibn Mardanis*. In: Estudios Onomásticos-Biográficos de Al-Andalus (E.O.B.A.), Volume X. (María Luisa Ávila y Maribel Fierro, eds.). Biografías Almohades II. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid-Granada, pp. 57-130. Citation on p. 91

¹²¹ **PONS BOIGUES, Francisco** (1898) *Historiadores y geógrafos arabigo-españoles*. Madrid, N° 176, p. 220

3.5.6 The Almohad movement

With regards to the Almohad movement or *Al-Muwahhidun* it is worth knowing that in 1130 a new power of the Muwahhids arose in North Africa. Attacking the Muráwids in Morocco and Al-Andalus (1144-5) they practically exterminated them.

The Almohad Empire began with the new ideology of puritan and reformist character that spread the religious-political movement founded by Ibn Tumart¹²² (d. 1130). He was its spiritual leader and charismatic messianic figure who was proclaimed in 1122 as al-Mahdi ("the well guided"), i.e. the guide inspired by God.

The truth about his proclamation and death is what Ibn Sâhib al-Salâ wrote in his book *al-Mann bil-imâma* and we can say the same about Abû 'Ali b. Rashiq, the Murcian, in his book *Mizân al-'amal*, viz. that he was proclaimed on Saturday the first of Muharram of the year 516 (12 March 1122), and that he died on Wednesday the 13th of Ramadán of the year 524¹²³.

With his first supporters Ibn Tumart took refuge in a secluded spot called Tīnmallal (Tinnel or Tinmal) in the Atlas zone in the mountains South of Marrakech in 1124. There he arranged a strong army and began a declared systematic struggle against the Almorávide power¹²⁴.

The Muwahhids ruled Al-Andalus and North Africa for nearly a century. Like the Muráwids, the Muwahhids were Berbers, but

¹²² FIERRO BELLO, María Isabel (2000) *Le mahdi Ibn Tūmart et al-Andalus, l'élaboration de la légitimité almohade*, "Revue des mondes musulman et de la Méditerranée", 91-94, pp 107-124

¹²³ IBN ABI ZAR (1964) *Rawd al-qirtas*. Translated and annotated by Ambrosio Huici Miranda, Vol. 2, Valencia, p. 360

¹²⁴ VIDAL CASTRO, Francisco (2009-2011) *El imperio almohade: historia y repercusión en la provincia de Jaén*. In: Alcazaba, N° 9-11, pp. 59-90, cited on p. 62

they were “far more enlightened and favourable to culture than the Muráwids had been”. During their *régime* some of the greatest names of Arabian culture became world-famous. Among them were Ibn Tufail (d. 1185), Ibn Rushd (Averroes) Musa Ibn Maimun (Maimonides¹²⁵), and Ibn Sab'in, all of whom, however, were persecuted on account of their philosophical opinions. The Muwahhids eventually suffered the fate of their predecessors. In 1228 the Hafsids of Tunis claimed their independence, and by 1230 the Christians had driven the Muwahhids from Al-Andalus back to North Africa¹²⁶.



Averroes painted by Andrea Bonaiuto

¹²⁵ **AKASOY, Anna** (2007) *Ibn Sab'in, Maimónides y la emigración andalusi*. In: Maimónides y el pensamiento medieval: VIII centenario de la muerte de Maimónides. Actas del IV Congreso Nacional de Filosofía Medieval: Córdoba, 2004. José Luis Cantón Alonso (ed.). Cordoba: Universidad de Córdoba, 2007, pp. 113-119

¹²⁶ **FARMER, Henri George** (1929) *A History of Arabia Music to the XIII*. London, p. 189

DUNCAN BLACK, Macdonald (1903) *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence, and Constitutional Theory*. New York, pp. 263-265

But who exactly was Ibn Tumart? Isabel O'Connor¹²⁷ gives us the answer by means of a brief description of this Berber emperor and his involvement in Andalus:

The Almohad movement, or *Al-Muwahhidun*, had its basis in the religious reform program established by Abu 'Abdulla Muhammad b. Tumart, a Masmuda Berber, who traveled to the Islamic East from 1106 until 1117. Ibn Tumart's emphasis on the oneness of God gave the movement its name. After his return to the Maghrib, Ibn Tumart began to implement his religious reform program aimed at purifying the Islamic practices of the Berbers. He soon came into conflict with the Almoravid rulers and the Maliki school of law which provided the legal foundations of the regime. In 1122 Ibn Tumart proclaimed himself mahdi and in 1124 he moved to the village of Tinmalla in the High Atlas where the Almohad movement became organized in a tribal form and acquired a political nature. This brought the Almohads into open confrontation with the Almoravids. The Almohad offensive after the death of Ibn Tumart was led by 'Abdul-Mu'min and his successors who terminated the Almoravid rule in North Africa and conquered Andalus. The Almohads had control of south western Andalus by 1148, but were not able to gain control of eastern Andalus until 1272 due to the opposition of some Muslim leaders, such as Ibn Mardanish.

3.5.7 Ibn al-Arif

Already in Sultan ibn Yusuf Ali (1107-1143), the preachings of a mystic named Abu l-Abbas ibn al-Arif in the region of Almeria had worried the authorities, and the city *cadi* had informed the sultan of the danger posed by these ideas. Almería became the metro-polises of all Sufis of Al-Andalus.

And so we observe that Abu l-'Abbas Ahmad b. Muhammad Ibn Al-'Arif (d. 36/1141), author of the «Mahasín Al-Machalis», had very soon grouped around him a lot of fans, not

¹²⁷ O'CONNOR, Isabel (2010) *The Fall of the Almohad Empire in the Eyes of Modern Spanish Historians*. In: Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, Vol. 14, Nº 2, pp. 145-162

only from Almeria and its region, but also from several other parts of Andalusia, particularly from Seville, Granada and the Algarves. Abu l-Hakam ‘Abd Al-Salam b. ‘Abd Al-Rahman Ibn Barrajan (d. 536/1141) came from Seville. Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Al-Husayn Al-Mayurqi (d. 527/1142) came from Granada and finally Abu l-Qasim Ahmad b. Husayn Ibn Qasi (d. 546/1151) came from Algarbes.

Ibn Al-Arif¹²⁸ (nickname) or Abul Abbas Ahmad Ibn Mohammed Ibn Musa Ibn Ata Allah Al-Mariyyi Al-Sanhaji, also known as Al-Urruf (born July 23, 1088 in Almeria and died 1141 in Ceuta) was a famous Andalusian Sufi.

He was especially well known as the founder of a probable Sufi school or tariqa which was based on the teachings of Ibn Masarra, and as the author of *Mahasin Al-Majalis (The Attractions of Mystical Sessions)*. However, in more recent scholarship the relationship between Ibn Masarra and Ibn Al-‘Arif seems less obvious¹²⁹.

Ibn Al-Arif spent most of his life, in Almeria, in Al-Andalus at the height of the Almoravid power. His father came from Tangier and his family belonged to the Berber tribe of the Sanhaja. Apparently, Almeria was a center of Sufism at that time. He and Ibn Barrajan, another Andalusian Sufi based in Seville, gathered around themselves a large number of

¹²⁸ **SHAFIK ROUSHDY, Ahmed** (2010) *Miftāḥ Al-sa‘āda wa-taḥqīq ṭarīq Al-sa‘āda* (La llave de la felicidad y la realización del camino de la felicidad) de Ibn Al-‘Arīf (481/1088-536/1141) Doctoral Dissertation. Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, pp. 339 p.

SHAFIK ROUSHDY, Ahmed (2012) *Filosofía y mística de Ibn Al’Arif: Su Miftah Al-sa’ada*. In: *Anales del Seminario de Historia de la Filosofía*, Vol. 29, Number 2, pp. 433-448.

¹²⁹ **AKASOY, Anna** (2012) *Andalusi exceptionalism: the example of “Philosophical Sufism” and the significance of 1212*. In: *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 4:1, pp. 113-117.

followers, which attracted the attention of the Almoravid authorities.



The tomb of Ibn Al-'Arif in Marrakesh
Photo Ibnalarif

In 1141 both men were called to Marrakech by the sultan Ali Ibn Yusuf where they were accused of "professing heterodox doctrines". Ibn Al-Arif defended himself and was released, but died shortly thereafter. According to Ibn Al-Abbar, either "the sultan was convinced of Ibn Al-Arif's excellence and piety and ordered him to be released and escorted to Ceuta" where he died of an illness, or "Ibn Al-Arif was poisoned on his return journey, while making the sea crossing." His tomb is in Marrakech.

A quite interesting study about Ibn Barrajan was written by Jose Bellver¹³⁰. Although Ibn Barrajan (d. 536/1141) was one of the

¹³⁰ **BELLVER, Jose** (2013) "Al-Ghazali of Al-Andalus": Ibn Barrajan, Mahdism, and the Emergence of learned Sufism on the Iberian Peninsula. In: The Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 133, N°. 4, pp. 659-681.

foremost Sufi masters in Al-Andalus, he remains a controversial figure. He is mainly known for an accurate prediction of the Muslim capture of Jerusalem on 583/1187, for his close relationship with the other leading Andalusian Sufi master of his time, Ibn Al-Arif (d. 537/1143) who had an obscure death. Ibn Barrajan is not mentioned in Ibn Bashkuwal's *Sila* -the main source for study of the Andalusian ulema of this time- and as a result has been taken to be an outsider among the Andalusian ulema, one who threatened the theological and political establishment.

3.5.8 Ibn Barrajan

Ibn Barrajan's life ran parallel to the Almoravid dominion over Al-Andalus (1091-1145). Ibn Barrajan (d. 536/1141) is known for his obscure death after being summoned, along with Ibn Al-Arif, by the Almoravid sultan All b. Yihut b. Tashufin (d. 537/1143), shortly before the revolt of the Muridan in the Algarve (539/1144) led by Ibn Qasi (d. 546/1151) and the ascent to power of the Almohads. Ibn Barrajan is referred to in a few sources as imam and it has been alleged that in some 130 villages the Friday sermons were read in his name rather than in that of the sultan. These textual references within the context of the revolt of the Muridun shortly after his death, along with his having been summoned by the sultan, his trial, imprisonment, and death, have sketched a picture of a political activist, a self-proclaimed imam, and a rebellious Mahdi who challenged the political and religious authority of his time and was eventually executed for this insubordination.

Ibn Barrajan's summons and death took place against a background of political, economic, and military crisis in Al-Andalus caused by the Christian advance onto the peninsula and accentuating the decline of the Almoravids during the first half of the sixth/twelfth century. Due to Almoravid passivity in the

face of the Christian threat, the Andalusian population sought the leadership of members of the judiciary, the fuqahī¹³¹.

Today the opinion of this sufi is as follows:

Abu-l-Hakam Abd Al-Salam Ibn Abd Al-Rahman Ibn Mohammad Ibn Barrajan (born in Seville where he lived, he died in Marrakesh 1141) was one of the greatest Sufi figures of Al-Andalus and a hadith scholar. He spread his teachings in the first half of the 12th century. He wrote a two-volume commentary on the names of Allah, a famous tafseer, and *Ida Al-hikma* (unedited). His writings had a great influence on Ibn Arabi. He died in prison in Marrakesh, when he was summoned to that city by the Almoravid sultan who feared his influence. Against the wishes of the sultan he received an official burial on the initiative of Ibn Harzihim.

Among remarkable occurrences is to be noted that Ibn Barraján¹³² says in his Commentary on “Alif, Laf”m, Mim the Greeks have been overcome: (Kur. XXX) that Jerusalem will remain in the hands of the Greeks until the year 583: they will then be overcome and it will be captured and become the house of Islām to the end of time” taken from a calculation of the

¹³¹ **BELLVER, Jose** (2013) “Al-Ghazali of Al-Andalus”: Ibn Barrajan, Mahdism, and the Emergence of learned Sufism on the Iberian Peninsula. In: The Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 133, N°. 4, pp. 659-681.

¹³² The author of a commentary on the Kurán which he explained after the mystic system of the Sufie. He died in the city of Morocco A. H. 531 (1141-2) Ibn Khall, (art. Muhi u’ddin-b-uz- Zaki) adds that from the time he met with the verse, and learnt Ibn Barraján’s account of it, he searched for the commentary and found the passage written marginally in a different hand from that of the text and is ignorant whether or not it be an interpolation. He also found a cabalistic calculation made from the words “a few years” in the verse of the Kurán —which runs: “The Greeks have been overcome in the nearest part of the land, but after their defeat they shall overcome within a few years.” See also Sale’s Kurán. Cited by: **JALÁLU’DDÍN A’S SUYÚTI & JARRET, H.S.** (1881) History of the Caliphs, Calcutta, p. 479.

verse—and so it came to pass. Abu Shámah¹³³ observes that this prophecy of Ibn Barraján is the one of the most remarkable that has occurred, for Ibn Barraján died some time before the event, and the precise date of his death is unknown.

3.5.9 Other famous persons in Murcia

According to Gaspar Remiro we had the following famous persons in Murcia in those years¹³⁴:

Abucháfar Áhmed was the son of Moslema, known by the Baguiro, highly praised poet who left to die a small collection of his poems and wrote many others that were not collected. He died in 1136.

Abumohámmed Abdála from Murcia was the son of Muhammad, moved from his city to Toledo, then to Seville, where he completed his education, and then to Cordoba and Granada, becoming a preacher of the mosque of Ceuta. He wrote fifteen books on Koranic science and traditions, and died in Granada in 1143 or 1144.

Mohámmed of Almeria was the son of Ibrahim, son of Ahmed, Abenamad. After traveling to the East he returned to his hometown and was sent as Qadi to Murcia under the command of the Almoravids in 1127 or 1128 until he was removed from office in 1134 or 1135 for wrongdoings and died in Morocco in 1141 or 1142, leaving a work on Koranic exegesis.

¹³³ Abu'l Kásim A'bdu'r Rahman, surnamed Shiháb u'ddín and called Abu Shámah from a mole on his left temple. He was born at Damascus A. H. 599 (1202) He was a jurisconsult, a grammarian, a traditionalist and an historian. He has left two abridgements of the history of Damascus, one in 15, the other in 5 Vols. besides the biographies of Nur-u'ddin and Saladin, and several other works on theology and grammar. De Slane, I. K. Cited by:

JALÁLU'DDÍN A'S SUYÚTI & JARRET, H.S. (1881) *History of the Caliphs*, Calcutta, p. 479.

¹³⁴ **GASPAR REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*, Zaragoza, pp. 158-159

3.5.10 The revolt against the Almoravids

When the 5th Almoravid king Ali ibn Yusuf (1084-1143) died in 1143, he was succeeded by his son Tashfin ibn Ali, the 6th Almoravid king, in 1143 that would be the beginning of the extinction of the Almoravid Empire in al-Andalus. This king died shortly thereafter in 1145.

Saif ad-Dawla, son of the last King hudi in Zaragoza, began a revolt against the dominant Almoravids in 1144. At the outbreak of the revolt Yahya ibn Ganiya (who had been Governor of Valencia) commanded the Almoravids in Al-Andalus, and had placed his nephew Abu Muhammad Abd Allah ibn Ganiya in the post of a new Governor of Valencia. However, the city revolted against the Almoravids on March 1, 1145. The defense of the borders was now in the hands of captain Abd Allah ibn Iyad, who shortly thereafter temporarily took Murcia. He recognized the sovereignty of Saif ed-Dawla, who came to Murcia in January 1146, as king of the eastern part of Al-Andalus, and was received with great honours by governor Ibn Iyad. In May 1146 ‘Abd Allah b. Faray al-Tagri dispossessed captain Abd Allah ibn Iyad of his governorship and ruled till September 1146. The people of Murcia killed ‘Abd Allah b. Faray al-Tagri in a new revolt when they became aware that captain Abd Allah ibn Iyad came to Murcia with new troops. Thus the captain became governor of Murcia again on 13 September 1146. This was only for a short period, because Abd Allah ibn Iyad died in a battle against the Castilians in 1147.

This is a short summary of the beginning of the revolt in Valencia, but the situation in Murcia was not much better.

Anarchy raged in Murcia and at least three parties fought for forming a government¹³⁵.

There was a time when Ibn Tahir sent his letters and special commissioners to the rich and powerful qadi of Lorca asking for help and begging him to help him choose a just and knowledgeable king capable of cutting off misfortunes and keeping the kingdom in peace.

¹³⁵ **PONZOA CEBRIAN, Felie** (1845) *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en Murcia*. Palma de Mayorca, p. 60

3.5.11 Ibn al-Hâyy al-Lûrqî

In 1144 an important character in the history of the next quarter century also rose in Socovos: Ibn Hamushk, who later served in Segura de la Sierra, the main center of this mountainous region between Murcia and Jaén. By reducing the military forces of the Magreb in al-Andalus since the Almoravids were needed in North Africa to counter the Almohad, people from al-Andalus began to rise against the authorities and African soldiers who remained in the Peninsula, expelling and exterminating them, appearing throughout the mainland some kind of autonomous local authorities called "second fiefdoms" and that lasted until the forcible unification imposed by the arrival of the Almohads. These leaders were called the "Muridîn" (neophytes or aspiring) because Ibn Qasî, the first revolt in the Portuguese Algarve, founded a school of Sufism and gave that name to his followers. In Murcia this period began with three years of instability which were followed by brief and ephemeral governments. During March and April of 1145 Ibn al-Hâyy al-Lûrqî took office recognizing the authority of Ibn Hamdîn of Cordoba¹³⁶.

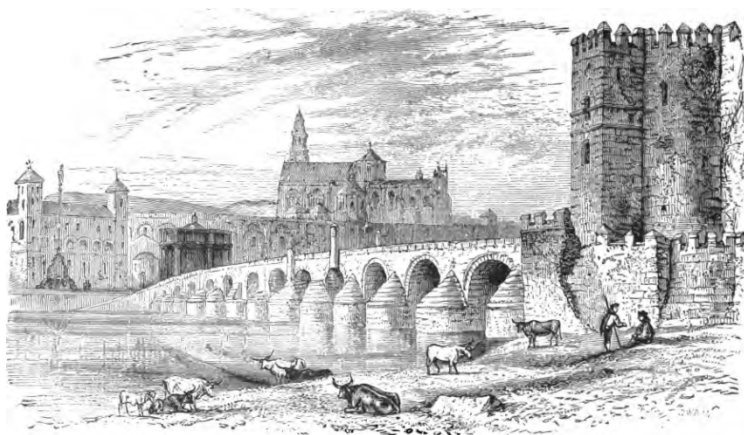
The sufi Abu Muhammad ‘Abd Rahman b. Ya’far b. Ibrahim b. Ahmad b. Hasan b. Sa’id b. Ahmad b. Hasan al-Ma’afiri al-Lurqi Ibn al-Hayy¹³⁷ was a poet and a deeply religious man of noble lineage born in Lorca. He studied with Abu ‘Ali al-

¹³⁶ **JIMÉNEZ CASTILLO, Pedro** (2013) Murcia. De la antigüedad al Islam. Universidad de Granada, p. 214

¹³⁷ **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, A.** (2004) "*Ibn al-Hayy al-Lurqi, Abu l-Hasan*", In: Biblioteca de al-Andalus, Enciclopedia de la cultura andalusí, edición y dirección de J. Lirola Delgado y J. M. Puerta Vilchez, Almería, I, nº 577, pp. 339-340; and **GUICHARD, P.** (1990) *Les musulmans de Valence et la reconquête (XIe-XIIIe siècles)*, 2 vols., Damasco, I: 106, 108, 111; II: 315, 317, 327. Cited by:

ARCAS CAMPOY, María (2010) *La Calle Abenhalaj*. In: Clavis, Nº 6, pp. 33-44

Sadafi, served as secretary in Marrakech in 1134, and was appointed governor (wali) of Murcia¹³⁸ in the decline stage of the Almoravids in 1145. He furthermore assumed the command recognizing the authority of Abu Giafar ibn Hamdan who had taken possession of Cordova¹³⁹. However, he stayed in charge of the city only for a few weeks. He led a life of piety and spiritual meditation. He died after 540/1145¹⁴⁰ and we do not know the date of his death which Ibn al-Abbar stipulated around 1155.



The bridge of Cordova

¹³⁸ **AI-UDRI** (1965) *Tarsi 'al-ajbar, de. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Ahwani*, Madrid, IEEI; trad. parcial, E. Molina López, "La cora de Tudmir según al-'Udri", Cuadernos de Historia del Islam, 4 (1972), pp. 11-12

¹³⁹ **CÁCERES PLA** (1902) *Noticias históricas, literarias, estadísticas, etc., de la Ciudad del Sol*, edited in Madrid, Imp. Bolet'n de Instrucción Pública, pp. 13-14

¹⁴⁰ **CÁCERES PLA** (1898) *Árabes lorquinos*. In: El Liceo Lorquino Revista Científica, Literaria y de Bellas Artes, N°. LVIII, Año IV

3.6 1145-1145 Abd Allah b. Faray al-Tagri

In mid April 1145 ‘Abd Allah Ibn al-Tagrî, the Alcayde of Cuenca, followed the command as wali of Murcia of his predecessor for only a few days.

Apparently there was no major African force in Valencia and Murcia at the time, because nobody opposed the rejection of the Almoravid authority in both cities. On the contrary, relatively numerous Berber garrisons were stationed in the castles of Xativa and Orihuela and it was necessary to neutralize them. The Murcian forces under the command of qadi Ibn Abi Ya’far went to fight the Almoravids in Orihuela. They had to surrender on the condition that their lives would be saved, but they had been treacherously killed. Then the Murcian soldiers and the qadi went to help Valencia which was besieging the Almoravids of Xativa, who were imprisoned in the citadel of the city.

Unfortunately the military campaign was disturbed by the situation in Murcia. There, the power was disputed by the supporters of qadi Ibn Abi Ya’far of Lorca and those of the military boss of the qa’id unity, Abu Abd Allah al-Tagri who Saif al-Dawla ibn Hud had sent for taking possession of the city on his behalf.

3.7 1145-1145 Ibn Abu Ya'far

Apparently qadi Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Allah al-Khusari Abu Ya'far governed Murcia for a certain time.

This qadi expelled his qa'id 'Abd Allah al Tagri. Abu Ya'far and immediately thereafter went to help qadi Marwan b. 'Abd al-'Aziz of Valencia who was being encircled in Jativa by the Almoravids of Yahya b. Ghaniyah.

Under the qadi's command the Murcian troops made an expedition to Andalucia in relief of Saif al-Dawla ibn Hud, who fought against the Amorávides of Granada. The campaign ended disastrously in a defeat of the Murcian troops and the death of Ibn Abi Ya'far near Granada in September 1145.

Sulayman b. Musà b. Sulayman, Abu l-Hasan al-Azdi, known as Ibn Burtuluh (d. Murcia 1145) was appointed judge when Ibn Abi Ya'far became ruler of Murcia. He was one of the first to solicit advice of Ibn Abi Yamra when he became head of the Council in 1145¹⁴¹.

¹⁴¹ **AGUILAR, Victoria** (2016) *Identidad y vida intelectual en la Murcia de Ibn Mardanis*. In: Política, sociedad e identidades en el Occidente islámico (siglos XI-XIV), pp. 13-43, citation on p. 40

3.8 1145-1145 Abu ‘Abd al-Rahman Ibd Tahir

The next governor was Abu ‘Abd Allah Ibn Tahir, distinguished jurist and man of letters, belonging in Murcia to the prestigious family of Banu Tahir. Initially Ibn Tahir obeyed Saif al-Dawla Ibn Hud (Zafadola), declaring independence thereafter.

However, his government lasted just over a month since the end of October Ibn Iyad, another qa'id (town lieutenant) of the Christian border had been presented to the city by a party hostile to Ibn Tahir.

Anyway the history of Ibn Tahir seems to be somewhat confusing when we take into account what Josep Puig Montada is saying about him.

So we know his full name: Abû 'Abd ar-Rahmân Muhammad 'Abd ar-Rahmân ibn Ahmad ibn 'Abd ar-Ramân *Ibn Tahir* al-Qaisî. The family was native of Murcia, and his grandfather was king of Taifa until its annexation by al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbad. Muhammad Ibn Tâhir was born in Murcia and began his studies there, which he continued in Cordoba, in the traditional fields; among his teachers are Abû Marwân Ibn Masarra (who was also teacher of Averroes) and Abû Bakr Ibn al- 'Arabî, the lawyer in Seville. He had friendship with Averroes and probably also with Ibn Tufail who was another friend of Averroes. He later took a liking to the old sciences - philosophy and natural sciences, being the leader of the 'school' of the ancients. When almorávides withdrew from Murcia in 540/1145, Ibn Tâhir was head of the city for a short time. He joined the cause and dedicated a treaty to sultan 'Abd al-Mu'min (m. 1163) defending the legitimacy of the mission of mahdî Ibn Tûmart, founder of

the movement. Ibn Tâhir ended his days in the court of Abû Ya'qub Yusuf in Marrakech, where he died in 574/1178-79¹⁴².

Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Tahir was born in Murcia and married Amat al-Rahman. His son was 'Abd al-Haqq ibn Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahman, Abu Muhammad, al-Qaysi, the Murcian. He was an expert in religious and Islamic science. He stayed in Murcia during the reign of Ibn Mardanish and was one of the main philosophers of his time. On the other hand he was the author of an important treatise *Fiqh al-hisab* (The science of calculation) that was dedicated to the Almohade Caliph al-Nasir. This work, focused on arithmetic as a mathematical science and the combinatorial theory of numbers, has recently been published in Morocco¹⁴³.

¹⁴² **PUIG MONTADA, Josep** (2000) Abû 'Abd Ar-Rahmân Ibn Tâhir. Addenda a «Averroes, vida y persecución de un filósofo.» In: Revista Española de Filosofía Medieval, 7, pp. 181-187

¹⁴³ **CORTÉS, Manuela** (2008) *Tratados Musicales andalusíes de la escuela Levantina y aportaciones al marco interdisciplinar (ss. XI-XIII)*. In: Itamar. Revista de investigación musical: territorios para el arte. Univesidad de Valecia, pp. 159-182. Citation on p. 170

3.9 1145-1145 Abu Muhammad Ibn ‘Iyad

As much of the population in Murcia disagreed with the choice of Ibn Tahir, they called Abu Muhammad Ibn ‘Iyad, a prestigious border military who peacefully took control of the city. Abu Muhammad Ibn ‘Iyad took possession of Murcia again in the name of Saif al-Dawla ibn Hud, whose sovereignty Abu ‘Abd al-Rahman Ibn Tahir rejected. The latter was deposed and continued to live in the city.

Abu Muhammad Ibn ‘Iyad started to live in the Mayor Palace in late October 1145, moving Ibn Tahir to the suburban residence known as Dar as-Sughra and soon thereafter to his particular home.

During the first months Ibn ‘Iyad ruled on behalf of Ibn Hud who visited Murcia in January 1146, staying at the Mayor Palace while Ibn ‘Iyad did so in the as-Sughra Dar.

Ibn Iyad was the head of the troops of the Valencian brands and had been called by the qadi and Valencian *ra'is* Marwan ibn Abd al-Aziz to help fight the Almoravids from Xativa. Once Xativa had been seized in August 1145; Ibn Abd al-Aziz had to face a revolt of Jund as he had not paid their wages. The military elements of power kicked him and called Ibn Iyad in October. The head of the troops of Valencia was then Mardanis ibn Abd Allah, another border qa'id. His brother Sa'd had been governor of Fraga under the Almoravids regime for several years, and had become famous for his energetic defense of the city against Alfonso the Battler.

The owner of the whole Levante, Ibn Iyad instated Mardanis ibn Abd Allah and his nephew Muhammad ibn Sa'd as governors in Valencia and Murcia, and in Denia a son of Saif al-Dawla, whose sovereignty had been recognized. The latter gave up his hope of occupying Granada and Andalucia. He came to join Ibn Iyad in Murcia, where he occupied the great alcazar while the qa'id settled in the small one. Hereinafter the

city appeared as the capital of a Levantine State actually led by Ibn Iyad while Saif al-Dawla received the honorary treatment from a ruler.

Conde¹⁴⁴ mentions three kings in Murcia in 1145 (h. 540): Aben Ayad, Muhamad ben Juzef, and Alwatik ben Muhamad.

Here you can find summarized biographies of these men, which are found in Arab authors¹⁴⁵.

Abulhásan Soláiman, son of Muza, more commonly known as Aben bartolo was a famous lawyer and holy man: was appointed Qadi of Murcia by Abenabicháfar after taking over the command of the city when the general uprising against the Almoravids occurred. He had made a trip to the East before, and apparently had Abubéquer Abenabichomra as advisor, who was also appointed as Qadi later.

Abuljatab Mohámed, son of Omar Abennachib, native of Valencia, served as Qadi in Elche and Orihuela where he died still young in the period of the revolution in 1144 or 1145.

Abubéquer Mohámed, son of Yúsuf, known by Abenalchazar, native of Zaragoza who lived in Murcia taught the Arabic language in this city in which he was highly educated, as well as Koranic exegesis and literature. He was also a poet and polemicist. Next to king Abenabicháfar he fell seriously wounded in the gates of Granada and there he died slowly in 1145 or 1146.

Abuzaid Abderráman, son of Ali, Abenaladibí; was born in Alicante, but lived in Murcia. He went to the East and was appointed head of prayer and preacher of the mosque of Orihuela when he returned. There he served for a long time: was appointed as Qadi of the city later, resigned to the new dignity that was offered, and was forced to accept, but resigned two months later. He died shortly afterwards in 1145 or 1146.

¹⁴⁴ **CONDE, José Antonio** (1820) *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en España*, Volume II. (on the first pages)

¹⁴⁵ **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905). *Historia de Murcia musulmana*. Zaragoza.

3.10 1146-1146 ‘Abd Allah b. Faray al-Tagri

Saif al-Dawla, feeling strong, tried to get rid of the protection of the Castilians, but Alfonso VII of Castile had allied with ‘Abd Allah Ibn al-Tagri, governor of Cuenca and personal rival of Saif al-Dawla. The latter organized an army commanded by Abd Allah ibn Mardanis and formed by troops of Valencia, Alicante, Murcia, and Lorca. However, he was defeated by the Castilians in Chinchilla on 4 February 1146. Saif al-Dawla and ibn Abd Allah ibn Mardanis were killed in this battle.

3.10.1 Al-Basit

Al-Basit was the chief town of the province of Albacete which comprises the north-western portion of the old kingdom of Murcia, situated S.-W. of la Mancha and New Castile, on the S.E. slopes of the Meseta of Central Iberia at an altitude of 700m. The place and the name are found for the first time in al-Dabbi of Cordova and Ibn al-Abbar of Valencia in the 7th/13th century, in connexion with the great battle in 1146. Sayf al-Dawla al-Mustansir Ahmad b. Hud did battle with the Christians, and they killed him in the month of February 1146 Christian era. The battle, which was quite an ordinary engagement, was not between Alfonso VII of Castile and his tributary, the short-lived king of south-eastern Spain which was entirely subject to him, but between the latter and the Castilian Counts sent by Alfonso VII to subjugate the rebels of Baeza, Ubeda and Jaén, who withheld their tribute from Sayf al-Dawla. The rebels, seeing their lands pillaged by the Christians, again submitted to their *amir* in order that he might save them from the Counts, who refused to suspend operations and, when Sayf al-Dawla took up arms against them, routed him and took him prisoner. While he was being led to their camp, certain soldiers, called Pardos, put him to death, much to the regret of the Counts and Alfonso VII himself. With him was killed his ally

the governor of Valencia ‘Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. Sa’d; the latter is for this reason known by the Arabs as Sahib al-Basit, "Master (martyr) of Albacete"¹⁴⁶.

Ibn Iyad survived thanks to the darkness of the night, but was deprived of his lordship of Murcia by ‘Abd Allah Ibn al-Tagri, who ruled from May to September 1146. Consequently, in mid May 1146 ‘Abd Allah Ibn al-Tagri recovered his power in Murcia with the help of Christian troops and as a vassal of Alfonso VII. He took the title of Arráez and minted gold coins.

¹⁴⁶ **HOUTSMA, M. Th.** (1913-1936). The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Volume I, A-B, p. 250.

3.11 1146-1146 Abu Muhammad Ibn ‘Iyad

Later in September 1146 Ibn Iyad seized Murcia. The town was attacked by the troops of Ibn Iyad who managed to enter the city, giving battle in the streets of Murcia until al-Tagrî was killed in his flight to the lower walls trying to escape through the Orihuela gate in Santa Eulalia. On 13 September Ibn Iyad resumed his government in Murcia till August 1147.

Ibn ‘Iyad recovered his power, but only for a short time. He died in Ucles (Cuenca) on August 21, 1147 during a combat against Banu Yumayl o Yumail, allies of the Castilians.



The killing of al-Tagrî

What happened in Murcia was a true reflection of what Ibn Sa'id wrote in those years. In his *book of the Maghrib*¹⁴⁷ he describes the manner in which the Andalusian Muslims came to their present state of weakness and degradation. This is the process: the Christians will rush down from their mountains, or across the plain, and make an incursion into the Muslim territory; there they will pounce on a castle and seize it: they will ravage the neighbouring country, take the inhabitants captive, and then retire to their country with all the plunder they have collected, leaving, nevertheless, strong garrisons in the castles and towers captured by them. In the meanwhile the Muslim king in whose dominions the inroad has been made, instead of attending to his own interests and stopping the disease by applying cauterization, will be waging war against his neighbours of the Muslims; and these, instead of defending the common cause, the cause of religion and truth, instead of assisting their brother, will confederate and ally to deprive him of whatever dominions still remain in his hands. So from a trifling evil at first it will grow into an irreparable calamity, and the Christians will advance farther and farther until they subdue the whole of that country exposed to their inroads, where, once established and fortified, they will direct their attacks to another part of the Muslim territories, and carry on the same war of havoc and destruction.

Abulcásim Jalaf, son of Moháméd Abenfathun, jurist and traditionalist. Appointed as Qadi of Murcia by king Abeniyad he later marched as ambassador to the court of Morocco and when he returned from his mission in 1148 or 1149, Abeniyad had been killed. He was then sent as Qadi to Orihuela, a position he apparently had earlier from 1144 to 1146, and remained in that city until his death in 1161 or 1162 with great feeling of people and Abenmardenix, who esteemed and distinguished him a lot among his servants. He was

¹⁴⁷ Ibn Said, *Book of the Maghrib*, in Ahmed ibn Mohammed al-Makkari, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, translated by Pascual de Gayangos, (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1840), 1, 95-102

appointed as Qadi to succeed Abulabas Abenalhillel, and was replaced by Abubéquer Abenabichomra.

3.11.1 Murcia

Jalaf b. Muhammad, Ibn Fathun, Abu l-Qasim (1102-1162). He studied with his father Abu Bakr and with Abu 'Ali al-Sadafi. He was Qadi in Murcia at the time of Ibn 'Iyad. He marched as ambassador to the court of Morocco and when he returned from his mission in 1148 or 1149, Ibn 'Iyad had been killed. He was then sent as Qadi to Orihuela, a position he apparently had earlier from 1144 to 1146, and remained in that city until his death in 1161 or 1162. Ibn Mardanis esteemed him and so Jalaf b. Muhammad succeeded Ibn al-Hallal. After his death in 1162 he was replaced by Ibn Abi Yamra. Jalaf b. Muhammad was the father of Galbun Ibn Fathun, Abu Muhammad al-Muqri' al-Asnari (Murcia, 1151-Murcia 1216)¹⁴⁸.

3.11.2 Lorca

'Abdu-l-Hakk Ibn Gha'lib Ibn 'Attiyah, a celebrated Mohammedan divine, was born in Calsena in the province of Granada in A. H. 481 (A. D. 1088-9) His father Abu Bekr Ibn 'Attiyah had been kadhi of Valencia for some time, but on taking this city by the Cid (A. D. 1094) he fled to Granada where he settled. His son 'Abdu-l-Hakk made rapid progress in the study of theology, law, and the sciences connected with the Koran, attained offices of trust, and was at last promoted to the governorship of Almeria. He was an excellent poet and wrote several odes, fragments of which have been preserved in the work of Ibnu-l-Jhattib, who in the fourteenth century wrote a

¹⁴⁸ AGUILAR, Victoria (2016). Identidad y vida intelectual en la Murcia de Ibn Mardanis. In: Política, sociedad e identidades en el Occidente islámico (siglos XI-XIV), pp. 13-43, citation on p. 36.

biographical dictionary of illustrious Moslems, natives or residents of Granada. 'Abdu-l-Hakk is principally known by a voluminous and learned commentary on the Koran, which had as much celebrity among the Spanish Moslems as those composed did

by Az-Zamaskhari and Al-Beydhawi had among their brethren of the East. The eighth of the ten volumes which once composed the work is preserved in the Escorial library, No. MCCLXXV. 'Abdu-l-Hakk died at Lorca in A. h. 546, on the 25th day of the moon of Ramadhan (a. d. 1152)¹⁴⁹.

With regards to the protection of a home and privacy of his inhabitants Ibn 'Attiya is the first scholar who describes the exact measures that a visitor must take while approaching a house, Ibn 'Atiyya instructs the visitor to advance towards the house "while coughing and making a concerted effort to act slowly (yataîzná) and while taking the necessary precaution" . It is interesting to see how Ibn 'Attiya construes certain Qur'anic verses to protect inhabitants against any harm to their public image: "God warned those who spy on houses and those who seek to enter abruptly in order to surprise a sinner or to see things which are forbidden for them or for any other prohibited purposes¹⁵⁰."

Ibn Itiya there was one of the few scholars who represented the first Islamic concept of equality, namely the equality of the Adamic ascendance. This concept implies a vision of humanity such as the extent of an original individual, considered in himself the bond that unites him with his Creator.

¹⁴⁹ **VARIOUS** (1842) *The Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, Volume I, London, p. 69

¹⁵⁰ **ALSHECH, Eli** (2004) *Do Not Enter Houses Other Than Your Own*": The Evolution of the Notion of a Private Domestic Sphere in Early Sunni Islamic Thought. In: *Islamic Law and Society*, Vol. 11, N° 3, pp. 291-332. Cited on p. 307 and 324

It may be that God made reference to Adam and Eve. In this case, it is like if he said: We have all created of Adam and Eve. It may be also that he has employed a "male and female" as a generic designation (*ism al-gins*).

In this case, it is as if he had said, We have created each one between the male and female liquid. The meaning of this verse is the affirmation of equality (*taswyia*) between men¹⁵¹.

¹⁵¹ **LEITES, Adrien** (2003). En quête de l'éthique musulmane I La notion d'égalité en islam. In: Arabica, T. 50, Fasc. 2, pp. 177-198. Cited on pp. 181-182.

3.12 1147-1147 Ali b. ‘Ubaid

Ali b. ‘Ubaid was governor of the town of Murcia for only a short time.

According to Tawfiq Ibrahim very little is known of ‘Ali b. ‘Ubaid. Apparently he appears only in one chronicle, the Hullal of Ibn al-Abbar (volume II, pg. 232), and even that only once in a short phrase which cryptically says more or less:

“as for the people of Murcia, after the death of Ibn ‘Iyad they confirmed in his stead one ‘Ali b. ‘Ubaid who in turn at the end of the same year (452H) voluntarily ceded all his affairs in favour of ... Muhammad ibn Sa’d...”

The whole text and its surrounding context would seem to indicate that Ibn ‘Ubaid was loyally awaiting the arrival of the legitimate successor Muhammad b. Sa’d [Muhammad Ben Sad Aben Mardanis], recently proclaimed in Valencia¹⁵².

3.12.1 Moratalla

José Jesús Sánchez Martínez let us know that the period of Muslim rule in Moratalla has barely left us some written documentation to rely on. We only have physical witnesses with names of places confirming their establishment and certain agricultural works of which the origin leads to that time. Thus we have names for places showing strong Arab lineage: Benámor, Alhárabe, Benizar, Algaidón, Arrayán, Zacatín,

¹⁵² **IBRAHIM, Tawfiq** (2005) *A dinar of ‘Ali ibn ‘Ubaid struck in Murcia in the year 542H*. In: XIII Congreso Internacional de Numismática, Madrid 2003, Actas II, Madrid, pg. 1593-1597

Tazona, Mojarra, Mazuza, Otos, Zaén, Majarazán, Zoya, Inazares, etc.

On the other hand, ditches that lead the waters of the rivers Alhárabe and Benámor are of Arab origins, as well as the distribution of such water for irrigation; ponds, mills, houses, etc.

The castle fortress was originally probably the place of a Neolithic village settlement on which the Iberians build the base and walls which would later serve the Muslims to build the fortress. On the Muslim work (rammed earth in several canvases) the Order of Santiago restores the Castle – mortar and masonry – which would be used as headquarters for the Encomienda from 1246. The Visigoth period is shown in a somewhat obscure way due to lack of news. We just know how the late Roman era and the transition would unfold. Apparently ruin and desolation took over these lands, showing an almost widespread depopulation in the V and VI centuries. The start of the Islamic rule is equally obscure. We have the first news through the Hispanic-Arab historian al-Jatib's history (1313-1374) referring to an incident from 1147 in which Ibn Hilal revolts against his cousin Ibn Mardanix (King Taifa of Murcia in the Christian chronicles is known by the name of Wolf King), a story that al-Khatib took from a previous chronicle.

On occasion of the revolt of Ibn Hilal by 1147 on the lands of Castellon against ibn Mardenix, after consolidating this king himself in Murcia, Ibn al-Khatib let us know how the rebel penetrated Todmir and seized the castle muratalla¹⁵³.

According to that chronicle in 1147 Yusuf ibn Hilal revolted in Castellon against his relative Ibn Mardanix and seized three castles including the one in Moratalla, where he

¹⁵³ **IBN AL-JATIB** (1934). *Kitab A'mal al-A'lam*, ed. **LEVI-PROVENÇAL** Rabat, 1934. Second edition in Beyrouth, 1956, pp. 260-263.

became strong. Soon afterwards the Wolf King captured him demanding the castle back or else he would take out one of his eyes. Ibn Hilal refused and Mardanix fulfilled his threat. Taken to the very walls of the Fortress, the care of which had been left in the hands of Hilal's wife, Mardanix demanded them giving back the place (castle) or he would leave her husband blind. She did not accept that proposal and Mardanix took out Ibn Hilal's other eye. After the Muslim invasion and conquest of Spain different clan groups were distributed and settled in Moratalla during the installation process occupying scattered areas: Mazuza, Priego, Benizar, Zaén, Bagil, Zacatín, Inazares, and Benámor among others. These groups of peasant communities were subject to the jurisdiction of Muratalla Hisn which was the administrative and military center of the whole region. For its part the Hisn with its territory was integrated into the Iqlin of Segura de la Sierra. Some Muslim geographers (al Idrisi) in their description of Qura de Tudmir already refer to this geographical and administrative¹⁵⁴ situation.



¹⁵⁴ Courtesy of José Jesús Sánchez Martínez, Official Cronista (Historian) of the city of Moratalla

Castle of Moratalla. Photo of Lionni

Here you can find summarized biographies of these men, which are found in Arab authors¹⁵⁵.

Abumohámed Abdála the Roxatí, born in Orihuela, was transferred to Almeria at six years of age, where he fixed his habitual residence. He was a hard-working disciple of the famous doctors Abualí the Gasaní and Abualí Asadafi and wrote a play about the genealogies of the companions of Mahoma and the traditionalists, which was applauded by the public and got a lot of zeal. He was appointed as Qadi in Almeria and killed in the assault and capture of the city by the Christians in 1147 or 1148.

¹⁵⁵ **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905). Historia de Murcia musulmana. Zaragoza.

4 1147-1172 SECOND TAIFA OF MURCIA

1147-1172 Muhammad Ibn Mardanish

‘Abû ‘Abd Allâh Muhammad ibn Sa’d ibn Mardanish seized power first in Valencia and later in Murcia. After the short period of government Ibn Ubayd. Ibn Mardanish would consolidate the most important taifa, this time the government would last nearly a quarter of a century.

‘Abû ‘Abd Allâh Muhammad ibn Sa’d ibn Mardanish, who hailed from Castellón de la Plana between Valencia and Barcelona, maintained his sultanate in Sharq al-Andalus for over twenty-five years (541/1146 - 567/1172) through vigorous military action, to be sure, but also by means of shrewd diplomacy and far-reaching political alliances unfettered by religious scruple. Profiting from a coalition with his capable father-in-law, Ibrâhim b. Hamushk, whose territory was centered in Segura (Hisn Shaqûrah), a fortress that commanded the source of the river watering Murcia, Ibn Mardanish was no less disposed to cultivate *ententes* with the Christian king of Aragon, as well as Italian maritime traders. Ibn Mardanish had become probably the most powerful ruler in the whole Iberian peninsula. From 1165, however, his fortunes on the battlefield began to turn, until, when Ibn Hamushk defected to the Almohad cause, Ibn Mardanish was effectively confined behind the walls of Murcia, abandoned also by the Spanish mercenaries who were the mainstay of his army. This could be occasioned by some trouble with Ibn Mardanish’s wife, who was the daughter of Ibn Hamushk. It should be taken furthermore into account that two of Ibn Mardanish’s daughters were married to the Almohad caliphs, Abû Ya’qûb Yûsuf and Ya’qûb al-Mansûr. On his deathbed the Levantine strongman counseled his sons to submit to the Berber fait accompli. Ibn Mardanish had more than eight sons, descendents of his harem of two-hundred concubines.

After a lifetime of combat, he evidently perished of natural causes at barely forty-eight years of age¹⁵⁶.

The Almohades in their conquests had serious opposition from Ibn Mardanish and his father-in-law Ibrahim Ibn Hamusk. The latest one was from lord of Segura de la Sierra who dominated the southeast (Levante Murcia) and managed to temporarily seize important places such as Jaén, Granada, or Carmona. Reducing the rebels and ending all type of Andalucian resistance would cost the Almohades a quarter of a century, because until 1172 they did not succeed in it.

Ibn Mardanish], maintained himself longer than any other, and fought successfully against the Almohadas, as we shall hereafter relate following the book of Makkari:

In the month of Dhí-l-hajjah of the year 539 (June, A. D. 1145), an army of Almohades, commanded by Abú 'Imrán Músa Ibn Sa'id, landed at Jezírah Tarif (Tarifa), of which place they took possession, as well as of Algesiras and the surrounding country. Early in the ensuing year Malaga and Seville shared the same fate. Three years after, Yahya Ibn Ghániyyah surrendered to them the city of Cordova, and shortly after Jaen. In the year 546 (beginning April 19, A. D. 1151), 'Abdu-l-múmen announced his intention of crossing over to Andalus. Having made every ostensible preparation to that effect, he left his capital, Morocco, and proceeded to Kasr 'Abdi-l-kerím, where he passed his troops in review; but the news which he there received from Eastern Africa induced him to relinquish his purpose and repair to that country. Hearing, however, that the Moslems of Andalus were much pressed by the Christians, who had lately taken Almeria, he sent thither one of his sons, named Abû Sa'id, with orders to recover that city. Almeriyyah (Almeria) was a fine city situated on the coast of the sea of

¹⁵⁶ **ELMORE, Gerald** (2000). Poised Expectancy: Ibn al-'Arabî's Roots in "Sharq al-Andalus". In: *Studia Islamica*, Nº. 90, pp. 51-66.

Shám (Mediterranean). It was the port of Andalus, and the resort of merchants from Eastern Africa, Egypt, Syria, and other distant parts. It was the maritime arsenal of the Beni Umeyyah, and the port where those fleets were equipped which furrowed in all directions the waters of the Mediterranean, spread devastation over its shores, and allowed no Christian vessel to sail in it. Almeria was celebrated all over the East and West for its pottery, its glass, its silken robes of every colour and pattern, and many other articles of trade, which its merchants shipped to all parts of the world. The fertility of the soil, moreover, the abundance and cheapness of provisions, the sweetness of its waters, the mildness of the air, and the salubrity of its climate, made it a favourite residence for the Moslems, who went to settle there from all parts of Andalus, until its population could not find room within its precincts. All these advantages, and many others which we do not specify, made Almeria a desirable prize to the Christians, who for a long time past had cast a wistful eye over its delightful fields and well-filled storehouses. At last, in the year 542 (A. D. 1147), As-soleytán (Alfonso II. of Castile), King of Toledo, assisted by a Christian fleet which came from Jenewah (Genoa), besieged Almeria by sea and land. Ibn Mardanish, King of Valencia, the only Moslem who could effectually have defeated the plans of As-soleytán, entered into some secret compact with him and kept away: the consequence was, that, after besieging that city for some time, the infidels lodged themselves in one of the suburbs, and having from thence attacked the citadel, took it by storm on Friday, the 20th of Jumada the first, 542 (October 16, A. D. 1147). It is related by Abû Zakariyyá Al-ja'ydí, on the authority of Abû 'Abdillah Ibn Sa'adah Ash-sbátibí Al-mo'ammár (the long-lived), that about two years or so before the taking of Almeria, a respectable inhabitant of that city, whose name was Abú Merwán Ibn Ward, saw in a dream an old man of imposing height, who approached him, and, placing his hands suddenly on his sides from behind, shock him with great violence until he

made him wake all terrified; after which he bade him repeat the following verses:

“ Up, up with thee, thou careless and deceived man! do not sleep;
“ For God has some hidden views concerning the people [of this town].
“There is no escape, [to his will they must submit,] and yet not abuse
“what is detrimental to them;
“ For otherwise they would be guilty of a crime against the Lord of
“mankind”



Territory of Ibn Mardanish

This happened in the year 540 (beginning June 23, A.D. 1145). About two years after (A. D. 1147) the Rúm (Castilians) took possession of Almeria. The above anecdote is borrowed from the Háfedh Ibnu-l-‘abbár, who relates it in a work of his entitled Tekmílah (complement). Among those who gained the crown of martyrdom on this occasion one was the celebrated Imám Ar-rusháttí, whose entire name was Abú Mohammed Ibn ‘Alí Ibn ‘Abdillah Ibn ‘Alí Ibn Khalaf Ibn Ahmed Ibn ‘Omar Al-lakhmí Ar-rusháttí Al-meriyí, a man deeply versed in sacred traditions, biography, history, and other sciences, the author of an excellent work entitled Iktibásu-l-anwár wa iltimásu-l-azhár fi nasabi-l-sihábat wa rawati-l-athár (the borrowing of lights and the begging of flowers: on the genealogy of the companions and selected traditions of their times), which many a scholar learned under him. It is an excellent work, in which Ar-rusháttí collected [much that is useful], without failing in any part of his arduous task. He wrote it on the model of the celebrated Kitábu-l-ansáb (book of lineages), by the Háfedh Abú Sa’íd Ibn As-sam’ání. Ar-rusháttí was born at a small town of the province of Murcia, called Auriwelah (Orihuela), in the year 466 (beginning Sept. 5, A. D. 1073); he died, as above related, at the storming of Almeria, on the morning of Friday, the 20th of Jumáda the first, 542 (October 16, A. D. 1147). The surname of Ar-rusháttí was given to one of his ancestors owing to a large mole on his body, which his nurse, who was a Christian woman, called in her language rusháttah (roseta), whence he was called Ar-rusháttí. The above is borrowed from the Wafiyyátu-l-‘áyán (the deaths of the illustrious), by Ibn Khallekán.

Treating of the taking of Almeria [by the Castilians], Ibn Hobeys, the last of the traditionists of Andalus, says as follows: “I was in the castle of Almeria when the Christians took possession of that city, and presented myself to the chief of the Christians, As-soleytán, who was the son of the daughter of Alfonso, and I said to him,—‘I know of a tradition which traces thy genealogy to Hirkal (Heraclius), the Emperor of

Constantinopla. The Christian [king] seemed pleased at this, and told me to repeat the tradition, which I did, as I had learned it; upon which he said,—‘Thou and all those who are with thee are free; you may go out [of the castle] without paying any ransom.’ This Ibn Hobeish was the master of Ibn Dihyah, and of Ibn Haut-illah, and of Abú-r- rabi’ Al-kalá’í, (may God show them mercy). His entire name was ‘Abdu-r-rahmán Ibn Mohammed Ibn ‘Abdillah Ibn Yúsuf, but he was better known by the surname of Ibn Hobeish. He was the author of several works, and one in particular on the first conquests of Islam, which he inscribed to Abú Ya’kúb Yúsuf Al-mansúr.

In the year 545 (beginning April 29, A.D. 1150), Alfonso, King of Toledo and Galicia (Alfonso II. of Castile), marched to Cordova with forty thousand cavalry, and laid siege to that capital. The inhabitants defended themselves with great vigour; but the scarcity of provisions began to be felt, and they were in great tribulation. ‘Abdu-l-múmen had no sooner heard of their dangerous situation, than he sent an army of twelve thousand horse to their assistance. On the approach of the African forces, Alfonso raised the siege and retired into his dominions, upon which the Káyid Abú-l-ghamr As-sáyib, who commanded in Cordova, gave up that city to Yahya Ibn Maymún, who was ‘Abdu-l-múmen’s general, and acknowledged the supremacy of the Almohadas. On the morning of the day following the arrival of Ibn Maymún, the Christians were seen returning to their encampment before the city, upon which that general left a portion of his forces for the defence of Cordova, and with the remainder crossed over to Africa. Some time after, Alfonso, despairing of reducing that capital, raised the siege and returned to his kingdom. In the ensuing year [A. H. 546] ‘Abdu-l-múmen sent to Andalus another army of twenty thousand men, under the command of Al-hentetí [Abú Hafss], who had instructions to retake the city of Almeria, which, as above related, had some time previous fallen into the hands of the Christians. When the news of their disembarkation became known, Maymún, the

Lord of Granada, Ibn Humushk, and other chietains, hastened to pay their respects to the general of ‘Abdu-l-múmen, and to place themselves under the obedience of that Sultán. They all instigated him to make war against Ibn Mardanish, King of the eastern provinces of Andalus; but the latter had no sooner received intelligence of their plans, than, fearing for himself, he sent an embassy to the Christian Lord of Barcelona, imploring his help against the Almohades. The Lord of Barcelona granted the request of Ibn Mardanish, and sent him an army of ten thousand men, under a brave and experienced general. Meanwhile the Almohadas were marching against Ibn Mardanish; but when their general [Al-hentéti] heard of the arrival of his Frank auxiliaries, he retraced his steps and proceeded towards Almeria. Having arrived there, Al- hentéti invested the city on every side; but the want of provisions soon compelled him to raise the siege and to return to Seville, where he remained some time. It was not till some months afterwards that the Moslems succeeded in wresting that city from the hands of the enemy, after a siege of seven months. “ In the year 546 (A.D. 1151),” says an African historian, “Sid Abú Hafss and Síd Abú Sa’id, sons of the Commander of the Faithful, ‘Abdu-l-múmen, marched to Almeria, and besieged the Christians, who held its *kassdbah*. Abú ‘Abdillah Ibn Mardanish, King of the eastern parts of Andalus, then hastened to attack the princes, who had thus to defend themselves against the Christians inside and against the Moslems outside. At last, Ibn Mardanish, perceiving all the shame of his act, in thus attacking his brethren in religion whilst engaged in the extermination of the Christians, desisted from his undertaking and marched off, leaving the execution of his vengeance for another opportunity. When the Christians inside the castle [of Almeria] saw Ibn Mardanish raise his tents and go away, they said [to each other], “Surely Ibn Mardanish would not decamp, unless he had heard that the Almohadas were on the point of receiving reinforcements.” Upon which they offered to capitulate, and surrendered [the city] to the Moslems.

This Ibn Mardanîsh was a man of Christian origin, who, profiting by the confusion which followed the overthrow of the Almoravide dynasty, had made himself the master of Valencia, Murcia, and other towns in the east of Andalus. According to Ibn Sáhibi-s-salat, who, as is well known, wrote a history of the Almohades, in which he treats at full length of this and other chieftains who resisted their authority in Eastern Africa as well as in Andalus, Ibn Mardanîsh was the son of Sa'd, son of Mohammed, son of Ahmed, son of Mardanîsh. His name was Mohammed, and his kunyá or appellative Abú 'Abdillah. He was, however, better known by the surname of Ibn Mardanish. His father, Sa'd, had served under the Almoravides. He was governor of Fraga when Ramiro, King of the Franks, besieged that city in the year 528 (A. D. 1134). His uncle, Mohammed, surnamed *Sáhibu-l-basít* (the hero of Albacete), had also been one of the most distinguished warriors of his time. Trained to arms under the eyes of his father and uncle, Ibn Mardanîsh soon became a very experienced captain. He entered the service of Ibn 'Ayádh, King of Murcia, who, in reward for his eminent services, appointed him governor of Valencia, and gave him his daughter in marriage. On the death of Ibn 'Ayádh, Ibn Mardanîsh retained possession of Valencia, and shortly after added Murcia, Jaen, and other cities to his dominions. He was a very powerful monarch when the Almohades arrived in Andalus. But to return.

In the year 555 (A. D. 1160), the Commander of the Faithful, 'Abdu-l-múmen Ibn 'Alí, after subjecting the whole of Eastern Africa to his rule, and retaking the city of Mahdiyyah, which the Sicilians had taken in 543 (beginning May 21, A. D. 1148), as well as Safaks (Sfax), and other towns of that coast, returned to Fez. After making a short stay in that city, 'Abdu-l-múmen marched to Ceuta, where he embarked for Andalus. He landed at Jebal-Tárik (Gibraltar), which from that day was called Jebalu-l-fatah (the mountain of the entrance or Victory), and ordered that a strong fortress should be erected on the top of it.

He traced out the building with his own hands, and when, after remaining for two months there, and providing for the government of Ándalus, 'Abdu-l-múmen returned to his African dominions, he appointed his son Abú Sa'id, then governor of Granada, to superintend the building and report its progress to him. One of the architects employed was Háji Ya'ysh, the geometrician. This Ya'ysh, who was an excellent engineer, is said to have constructed some wonderful machines during his residence at Jebal-Tárik (Gibraltar), and among others a large windmill, which stood on the very top of the mountain.

During 'Abdu-l-múmen's residence at Gibraltar, the Almohadas made several incursions into the enemy's territory by his express command. A body of eighteen thousand horse, having penetrated into the district of Badajoz, defeated Ibn Errink (Alfonso Enriquez), reduced Bájah (Beja), Yéborah (Evora), Al-kasr (Alcazar do San, and other towns which the accursed Christians had taken some time before, and returned victorious and laden with plunder to the dominions of Islám¹⁵⁷.

The city of Carmona was conquered in 1161 by the Almohads due to the betrayal of one of his neighbours called Sarahil. The Qadi of the city, Ibn Abi Yafar, man of Ibn Mardanis, was fortified in the citadel but later surrenders. Taken prisoner by the Almohad, he was sent chained to Sevilla until the order to be crucified in the sand came¹⁵⁸.

¹⁵⁷ **IBN MOHAMMED AL-MAKKARÍ**, Ahmed (1843). The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain: extracted from the Nafhu-t-tib min ghosni-l-Andalusi-r-Rattib wa Tárikh Lisánu-d-Dín Ibni-l-khattíb / by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-Mallari; traslated from the copies in the Library of the British Museum and illustrated with critical notes on the History, Geographi and antiquities of Spain by Pascual de Gayangos. Volume II, pp. 310-315.

¹⁵⁸ **IBN SAHIB AL-SALA** (1969) Al-Mann bil-Imama, ed. HUICI MIRANDA, Ambrosio, Valencia, pp. 36-7

In the year 556, in the month of Jumáda the first (May, A. D. 1161), an Andalusian chieftain named Ibráhím Ibn Humushk, who was the father-in-law of Ibn Mardanish, and made common cause with that rebel, took by surprise the city of Granada. According to Ibnu-l-khattíb this happened thus: “Síd Abú Sa’íd, son of ’Abdu-l-múmen, who was then governor of that city, having crossed over to Africa to assist his father in putting down a rebellion, Ibráhím and his partisans among the Almoravides thought the opportunity a favourable one again to take the field against their enemies, the Almohades. Putting himself at the head of a band of resolute followers, Ibráhím approached Granada secretly and at night, and entered it by a gate which his partisans had left open [for him]. Having then attacked the Almohades who composed the garrison, he killed a great many of them and obliged the remainder to take refuge in the *kassábah*, which he besieged immediately, battering its walls and throwing inside all sorts of projectiles. When this intelligence reached Morocco, Abú Sa’íd hastened to the assistance of the besieged, taking with him his own brother, Síd Abú Mohammed Abú Hafss, and a considerable body of African troops. Ibn Humushk, however, was not discouraged by the arrival of so powerful an army; he sallied out of Granada, formed his troops in the spot called *Merju-r-rokád* (the field of the sleepers), and engaged the Almohadas, whom he defeated, notwithstanding their superior numbers, making great slaughter among them, owing to the trenches and canals into which the plain before that city is cut up for the purpose of irrigation, and which arrested the flight of the fugitives. Among the slain was Síd Abú Mohammed: his brother, Síd Abú Sa’íd, escaped, and reached Malaga with the relics of his army. As to Ibn Humushk, he returned to Granada with his prisoners, whom he caused to be taken near the walls of the *kassábah*, and there slaughtered in the presence of their friends. Meanwhile the Khalif ’Abdu-l-múmen, who had put down the insurrection, and was then at Salé, being informed of this disaster, dispatched another large army to Andalus, under the command of another of his sons,

named Abú Ya'kúb, assisted by the Sheikh Abú Yúsuf Ibn Suleymán, one of the bravest and most experienced warriors of the time. These troops, which were joined by many thousands of volunteers anxious to wage war against the infidels, arrived at Dílar, a hamlet close to Granada, where they encamped. This happened in 557 (A. D. 1162). Meanwhile Ibn Humushk, seeing the tempest gather over his head, had sent to apprise his son-in-law, Ibn Mardanísh, of his perilous situation, and to beg him to come to his assistance. No sooner had Ibn Mardanísh received the message, than having quickly raised in his dominions an army composed of Christians and Moslems, he hastened to his aid and encamped with his forces on an eminence close to the suburb inhabited by the people of Baeza (Albayzin), which still bears his name, *Kudyat Ibn Mardanísh* (the hillock of Ibn Mardanísh). The two armies came soon after to an engagement in the Vega of Granada, when, after a bloody and hard-contested battle, fortune decided in favour of the Almohades, and Ibn Mardanísh fled to Jaen.

In the year 558 (A. D. 1163), 'Abdu-l-múmen made public his intention to cross over to Andalus, and summoned the tribes of the Desert to engage in the holy war. He left Morocco on Thursday the fifth of Rabi' the first of that year (Feb. 11, A. D. 1163), and arrived at Rabáttu-l-fatah (the station of the Victory, now Rabat), where he passed in review three hundred thousand men of the Arabian tribes of Eastern Africa and of the Zenátah and other [tribes] professing the doctrines of the Mahdí, and one hundred and eighty thousand volunteers, who hastened also to that town for the purpose of sharing the reward promised to those who fight against the infidel. God, however, had decreed that this formidable armament should never quit the shores of Western Africa; for whilst the Commander of the Faithful, 'Abdu-l-múmen, was making every preparation for the crossing, death, whose fierce blows spare neither the great nor the small, surprised him on Friday the 6th of Jumáda the second of the same year (May 12, A. D. 1163).

As a result of trying to take Cordoba, a formidable Almohad army was advancing from Seville across the Strait towards Murcia in 1165 and reinforced in the Peninsula. A few days later, on October 15, 1165 the Wolf King and his army suffered a crushing defeat in the place where the Guadalentín valley joins the Murcian meadow (*Fahs al-Yallab*). The impregnable walls of the city of Murcia protected the emir, the remnants of his army and civilians, but the rich garden and sumptuous mansions of Murcian nobles were at the mercy of the invaders, who destroyed and looted everything they wanted. The Mardanisi residence of Monteagudo was hit. This was the first serious setback of Ibn Mardanis during his reign.

The Almohads remained in their plains and mountains for many days and took their looting to the limit. Other towns of Tudmir also had to suffer loots:

During their stay there a holy Almohad and Arab squadron was sent to launch raids from right to left to those regions. And they brought from the part of Galera and Caravaca and Baza and from the hills of Segura a considerable loot of many herds of mules, cows, and hundreds of thousands of cattle and the river [of Castalla] was filled and the Almohads' hands were filled with the wealth of innumerable goods linked to one another thanks to God¹⁵⁹.

The Aragonese had broken their alliance with Ibn Mardanis in 1165-1166, and were expected to attack their domains soon to compensate for nonpayment of outcasts. In response the Wolf King asked Alfonso VIII in 1167 to mediate the conflict. Alfonso VIII agreed and got Alfonso II to sign a truce with Ibn Mardanis in exchange for restoration of payment of outcasts¹⁶⁰.

¹⁵⁹ **IBN SAHIB AL-SALA** (1969) *Al-Mann bil-Imama*, ed. HUICI MIRANDA, Ambrosio, Valencia, p. 81

¹⁶⁰ **LLAMAS BUSTOS, Ángel** (2013) *La escritura al servicio del poder político: Claridad y eficacia. La concordia entre Alfonso VIII de Castilla y*

Ibn Mardanish was a true expert at placing pawns on the real life board. He tried to have an excellent relationship with Nuño Pérez de Lara, tutor of King Alfonso VIII. In 1167 we see Ibn Mardanish in Toledo get next to Nuño Pérez de Lara against the other kings, Ferdinand II of León and Fernando Rodriguez de Castro. Ibn Mardanish needed Nuño Pérez de Lara not to get close to the King of Aragon, Alfonso II¹⁶¹.

Ana Isabel Sánchez Casabon gives us a text in which Alfonso II of Aragon and Giradlo of Jorba, representing Ibn Mardanish, restore peace for two years from May 1, 1169 in exchange for an annual tribute of 25,000 morabetinos that the Murcian emir had to pay to the Aragonese. This document is dated from November 5, 1168:

Sit notum cunctis quod ego Geraldus de Iorba convenio persolvere XXV. Millia morabetinos pro rege Lupo, [*domino*] meo Ildefonso, regi Aragonensi (...).

(...) Ego vero rex convenio tibi Geraldo de Iorba, quod teneam pacem regi Lupo, et facio hoc tibi iurare Peregrino de Castelloazolo, et Blasco romeo, meo marioridomo, et Ximeno de Artusela, meo alferiz. Et convenio tibi sub illo eodem sacramento, quod ipsi pro me tibi faciunt, quod ego faciam tenere et observare ipsam pacem ab hominibus meis regi Lupo. Et quod faciam eam teneri et iurari a Petro de Castelloazolo, Sancio Enegons de Darocha, Galindo Exameniz de Belxit, Petro Ortiz, et Ximeno de Orrea (...).

(...) Et postquam isti supradicti iuraverint, statim mea erunt supradicta V. millia morabetinos. Ita quod ex tunc non tenebor tibi de hiis V. millia morabetinos sed tantum modo de ipsa pace, quod

Alfonso II de Aragón (1170): Un estudio histórico y paleográfico. In: Funciones y prácticas de la escritura: I Congreso de Investigadores Noveles en Ciencias Documentales, pp. 115-122. Citation on p. 119

¹⁶¹ **GONZÁLEZ CAVERO, Ignacio** (2007) Una revisión de la figura de Ibn Mardanish. Su alianza con el reino de Castilla y la oposición frente a los almohades. In: Miscelánea Medieval Murciana, XXXI, pp. 95-110.

teneatur per bonam fidem secundum deum posse a proximis kalendas
may venturas usque ad duos annos (...) ¹⁶².

For whatever reason the Aragonese king did not want to commit too much with Ibn Mardanish and tried to cover his own back. Shortly afterwards Alfonso II of Aragon and Sancho VI of Navarro signed an agreement against Ibn Mardanish ¹⁶³.

In nomine Domini. Hec est conveniencia que facta est inter Sancium, regem Navarra, et inter Aldefonsum regem Aragone. Conveniunt namque sibi ad invicem, quod ab hac die in antea habeant firman pacem et treguas, per bonam fidem sine fraude et malo ingenio, usque ad XX. annos, ipsi et heredes eorum si eos infra hoc tempus mori contingat, quod Deus avertat. Simili quoque modo sibi ad invicem conveniunt per bonam fidem, sine engano, quod quidquid ab hac die in antea potuerint capere, vel adquirere in tota terra regis Lupi, vel tota alia terra sarracenorum, per médium dividant et habebunt in heremo et populato, excepto illa terra quam tenuerunt homines regis Aragone, in Gudar, et in Campo de Monte Acuto, facta super hoc diligente inquisicione et excepto Perol, cum suis terminis, sine enganno.

Conveniunt etiam sibi ad invicem firmiter quod faciant ambo guerram regi Lupo et aliis sarracenis secundum suum posse, et adiuvent se fideliter de hoc per bonam fidem sine malo ingenio. Si vero contigerit alterum ex regibus mori infra predictum tempus, ille qui superstes fuerit, sit heredi alterius in eadem conveniencia. Similiter si contigerit quod pacem faciant cum rege Lupo, vel cum aliis sarracenis, dividant per médium pecuniam, et tributum quod inde habebunt. Et in ista adquisicione quaecumque guerra fuerit, inter eos vel forum heredes, semper habeant pacem sine fraude. Supradictam autem adquisicionem quam facient in terra sarracenorum, ut dictum est, fideliter dividant quocumque modo adquirant per se vel per suos homines. Hec omnia que suprascripta sunt iuro ego Sanctus, rex Navarre, et ego Aldefonsus, rex Aragone, iuro similiter, et facimus iurare nosotros homines ita tenero et attendere. Et siquis nostrum

¹⁶² **SÁNCHEZ CASABÓN, Ana Isabel** (1995). Alfonso II Rey de Aragón, Conde de Barcelona y Marqués de Provenza. Documentos (1162-1196), Zaragoza, pp. 94-96.

¹⁶³ **LACARRA, José María** (1952) El rey Lobo de Murcia y el señorío de Albarracín. In: Estudios dedicados a D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, vol. 3, Madrid, pp. 515-526

scilicet reguë, supradictas conveniencias infregerit, habeatur proditor et alevosus.

Dono et concedo ego Sancius, rex Navarre, vobis domino Aldefonso regi Aragone, securitatem per fidem bonam sine malo ingenio, et sub iuramento pono quod quociens volueritis intrare in terram meam vel inde exire aut ibi morari, sitis securus ab ovni impedimento mei et omnium meorum hominum. Et ego Aldefonsus rex Aragone, simili modo, dono et concedo vobis domino Sancio, regi Navarre, securitatem per fidem bonam sine malo ingenio, et sub iuramento pono quod quociens volueritis intrare in terram meam, vel inde exire aut ibi morari, sitis securus ab ovni impedimento mei et omnium meorum hominum (...)¹⁶⁴.

The hostilities originating from the side of the Aragonese king in 1169 were the reason that Ibn Mardanish asked Alfonso VIII of Castile for his involvement, giving him the Vilches Castle and the fortress of Alcaraz in exchange¹⁶⁵. This resulted in a new pact in Sahagún on June 4, 1170 between the Castilian king and the Aragonese king. The latter committed to not attacking the sovereign Murcian for five years starting from the beginning of the next year in exchange for an annual tribute of 40,000 gold morabetinos:

Hec est conveniencia facta inter A[*defonsum*], regem Toleti et Castelle, et Ildefonsum, regem Aragon..., comitem Barchinon.. et marchionem Provincie. Innotescat omnibus quod ego A[*defonsus*], Dei gracia rex Toleti et Castelle, consilio C[*elebruni*], Toletani archiepiscopi, R[*aimundi*], Palentini episcopi, comitum aliorumque procerum curie mee, convenio in fide et legalitate mea vobis I[*ldefonso*], consanguineo meo, eadem gracia regi Aragon..., comitis Barchinon.... et marchio Provincie, per ipsam fidem et amicitiam quam ad invicem cum baronibus nostris confederatam et firmatam habemus, quod Lupus, regem Murcie, vobis talem habeam quod a kalendis ianuarii primis venientibus usque ad V. annos, et ulterus

¹⁶⁴ **SÁNCHEZ CASABÓN, Ana Isabel** (1995). Alfonso II Rey de Aragón, Conde de Barcelona y Marqués de Provenza. Documentos (1162-1196), Zaragoza, pp. 97-98.

¹⁶⁵ **GONZÁLEZ, Julio** (1960) El reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII, tomo I, Madrid, pp. 904-905

quamdiu cum ipso poteritis convenire, firmabit et dabit vobis per singulos annos integer ipsum aver, quod patri vestro, bone morie [*sic*], comiti Barchinone dare solebat scilicet, XL. milia morabetinos maiores in auro, statutes terminis inter ipsum regem et memoratum comitem, vel minus si tunc minus dare debebat quando postremo ipse comes ivit Provinciam, secundum verum et / re / cognitione G[*eraldi*] de Iorba et illorum qui tunc ipsum aver pro comite recipiebant (...)¹⁶⁶.

An expedition of Muslim-Christian looting that had left the town of Guadix, in power of Ibn Mardanis, was destroyed in 1168 by the Almohad governor of Granada Abu Abd Allah ben Abi Ibrahim near Ronda. In addition to seizing the loot they had achieved during the ride of the supporters of Ibn Mardanis and their horses and weapons, the almohades took 53 Christian prisoners to Granada. They were beheaded by the governor and his assistants¹⁶⁷.

Some time after this, Ibn Humushk and his son-in-law having quarrelled, the former made his submission to the Almohades in 1169. The cause of their quarrel was this: Ibn Mardanish divorced his wife, the daughter of Ibn Humushk, who, accordingly, returned to her father. Having, some time after, sent for a son of hers to be educated at her father's house, her late husband refused to comply with her request, and would never deliver up her son. At last, seeing her application disregarded, the mother said one day, —“After all, what is the son of a dog but a puppy? Let him keep him; I do not want him; which expressions she caused to be circulated among the women of Andalus. From that moment Ibn Mardanish and Ibn Humushk became sworn enemies, and the latter, in order the

¹⁶⁶ **SÁNCHEZ CASABÓN, Ana Isabel** (1995). Alfonso II Rey de Aragón, Conde de Barcelona y Marqués de Provenza. Documentos (1162-1196), Zaragoza, pp. 147-148.

¹⁶⁷ **IBN SAHIB AL-SALA** (1969) Al-Mann bil-Imama, ed. HUICI MIRANDA, Ambrosio, Valencia, pp. 130-131

better to revenge himself, embraced the party of the Almohades in 565 (beginning Sept. 24, 1169), and served under them against Ibn Mardanish. In the year 571 (beginning July 21, A. D. 1175), however, Ibn Humushk asked for leave to cross over to Africa, and, having obtained it, settled with his family and children at Meknásah, where he died in Rejeb of 572 (January, A. D. 1177).

On the death of 'Abdu-l-múmen, his son Yúsuf, surnamed Abú Ya'kúb, received the oaths [of the Almohades]. When the affairs of the government had been settled, and the foundations of the kingdom strengthened, Yúsuf crossed over to Andalus, in order to exhibit in that country the benefits of his government. This happened in 566 (beginning Sept. 13, A. D. 1170). He landed in Andalus, accompanied by ten thousand horse of the Almohades and Arabs, and proceeded to Seville, where he fixed his court. Some time before the landing of Yúsuf, a Christian named Ibn Errink (Alfonso Enriquez) had been committing great depredations in the western parts of Andalus, and had even reduced some considerable towns, as Turjeloh (Truxillo), Yéborah (Evora), Káseresh (Cazeres), and others; but Yúsuf had no sooner arrived in Seville than the accursed Christian shut himself up in his stronghold, and the Moslems were for some time delivered from his mischief. Yúsuf's arrival had also the effect of checking the progress of Abú 'Abdillah Mohammed Ibn Sa'd Ibn Mardanish, who, as before related, ruled undisturbed over Murcia and the greater part of Eastern Andalus; for no sooner did he hear of that Sultán's landing than fear lodged in his heart, and he fell dangerously ill and died: some authors say that he was poisoned¹⁶⁸.

¹⁶⁸ **IBN MOHAMMED AL-MAKKARÍ**, Ahmed (1843). The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain: extracted from the *Nafhu-t-tib min ghosni-l-Andalusi-r-Rattib wa Tárikh Lisánu-d-Dín Ibni-l-khattib* / by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-Mallari; traslated from the copies in the Library of the British Museum and illustrated with critical notes on the History,

Responding to the demand of Ibn Humushk, the Almohades sent an army to Murcia again to beat Ibn Mardanish.

It seems that they arrived in the city of Murcia in 1170, besieged it, and took power of the castle of al-Faray, which was Ibn Mardanish's recreational retreat. Ibn Humushk went with the Almohads and showed them the discovered places of their enemy with the aim to finally hound him with his attacks morning and night. The Almohads army took advantage of the time to devastate the gardens and everything that extended to the plains and villages in the region.

Ibn Mardanish had requested help from the Christians, but they abandoned him. They did not fulfill their promises and only sent about four hundred knights, whom Ibn Mardanish sent to Lorca to maintain the alcazaba with his chosen and loyal qadi 'Abu 'Utman b. 'Isa.

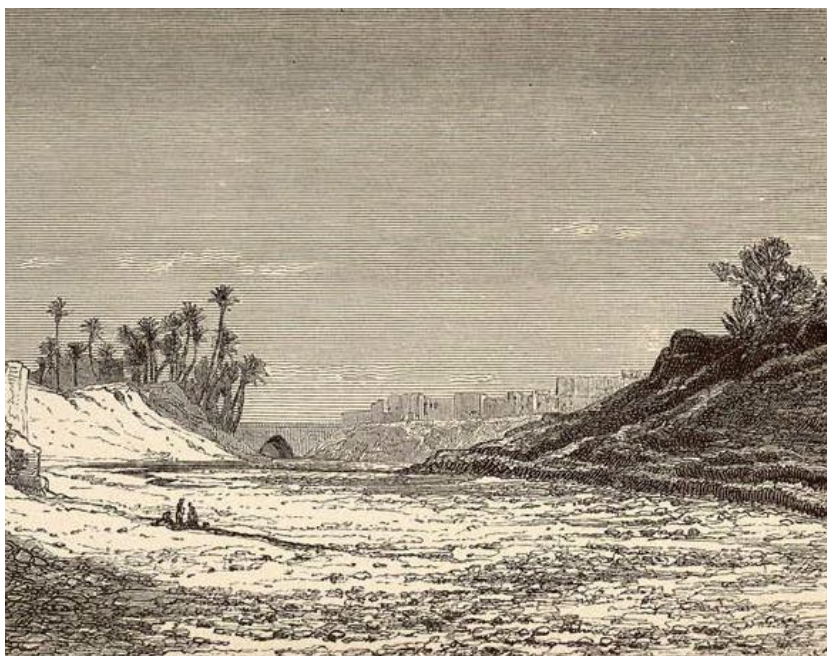
When the siege dragged on and the disarrangement in the matters of Ibn Mardanish had manifested itself, he got ill from the worry and sickness, and the people saw that his matters were going from bad to worse; the citizens of Lorca revolted against the Christians and their partners who were with them, invoking the "tawhid", and attacking them in the city. They all cast up in the alcazaba and trusted in its defenses. The people of Lorca wrote to their highness Abu Hafs, notifying him of their uprising because of the invoking of the "tawhid" and asking for his help against the perverse enemy. Abu Hafs lifted the field of Murcia in order to help them, entered the city of Lorca, took possession of it, and installed himself with his victorious army in its suburbs, gardens, and plains, and the alcazaba remained with the infidels on it, led by qadi Abu 'Utman b. 'Isa who maintained it with them. And he left the camp helped by a column of Almohad soldiers to raid the plains, as was the

custom, and had the luck of taking Ibn Muhammad, son of the qadi Abu 'Utman b. Isa, in his expedition, drove him tied to a rope to Abu Hafs, and sent him before his father to the vicinity of the alcazaba, and perhaps he had pity on him and left the citadel maintained by him; but it was not possible for him to respond to this, and the siege against the Christians in the citadel lasted until they ran out of water and supplies and convinced Abu 'Utman with his words and reasons to submit into obeying his plan, and Ibn Hamuskh mediated with Abu 'Utman to get out of the alcazaba with their people in peace and security because of this; the project was done and the quoted Ibn 'Isa abandoned the alcazaba with the Christians and his partners as has been indicated, and the Almohads entered and revived it and Ibn Muhammad was taken to his father healthy, kept, and honoured. And Abu 'tman, the qadi, went back with his partners and son to Murcia to Ibn Mardanis, and the Christians who were with him in Lorca left to their country, looking for salvation of their lives.

When the conquest of Lorca was completed the Almohads renewed the siege of Murcia and accomplished conquering the land surrounding it, commanding to the governors to implement the "tawhid" religion. The resistance that was still left started to crumble during the central months of 1171, because Elche and Baza passed to the Almohads.

Muhammad Ibn Mardanis endured much suffering in the last years of his life, but this did not decrease his cruelties. His brother Yusuf b. Mardanis demonstrated in the siege of Alcira his incline and sympathy for the Almohads. Nevertheless, things in Almeria were not much better.

Almeria, which Muhammad Ibn Mardanis dominated, recognized the Almohads, passing to them a cousin and brother-in-law of Ibn Mardanis called Muhammad Ibn Sahib al-Basit.



Landscape of Elche

He was married to a sister of Muhammad Ibn Mardanis of Murcia. In the uprising of Almeria by Muhammad Ibn Sahib al-Basit he could count on his friend Muhammad b. Hilal. They took the governor of Almeria Ibn Miqdam and accepted the “tawhid”. When Muhammad Ibn Mardanis of Murcia found out that his governor was killed, he ordered to kill his own sister, the wife of his cousin Ibn Sahib al-Basit and killed her sons without having any compassion for her. They were taken by Ibn al-Ra’i, his man in charge of giving torment to the people and took them to the Albufera by the sea in the vicinity of Valencia, put them on a boat with him, and when they were in the middle of the lake, he drowned them the most cruel and horrifying way

imaginable. Ibn Mardanis lost support of his friends, family, and relatives thanks to wild acts such as this one¹⁶⁹.

This is more or less the history of Ibn Mardanish, but other events of his period also deserve attention.

The Almohads, like their predecessors the Almoravids, faced dissent from independent-minded caudillos such as al-Mustansir ibn Hud Sayf al-Dawla (d. 1143) and Ibn Mardanish (d. 1172). The following passage from the introduction of Ibn Sahbi al-Sala's *al-Mann bi l-imama* (The Gift of the Imamate) is an example of the political and military conflict between the Almohads and Ibn Mardanish:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate; the blessings of God be upon Muhammad and his family. And in this year, which was 554 (23 January 1159 to 11 January 1160) Muhammad b. Sa'id b. Mardanish left the city of Murcia with his army and with his companions the Christians —may God annihilate them— with his corrupt army in their perverse decision to take advantage of the situation —or so they thought—, raving and deluded by the consumption of wine into thinking that in the absence of the Commander of the Faithful 'Abd al-Mu'min they could defeat the Almohads in the peninsula of al-Andalus and lay siege to the city of Jaén, whose governor Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Kumi had connived with him to violate his bay'a [oath of allegiance to the Almohad authority], bending himself to [Ibn Mardanish's] will and to him whose evil judgment induced him to rebellion¹⁷⁰.

¹⁶⁹ **IBN SAHIB AL-SALA** (1969). *Al-Mann bil-Imama*, ed. HUICI MIRANDA, Ambrosio, Valencia, pp. 154-161.

¹⁷⁰ **JONES, Linda G.** (2008). "The Christian Companion": A Rhetorical Trope in the Narration of Intra-Muslim conflict during the Almohad epoch. In: *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* (AEM), 38/2, pp. 793-829. Citation on p. 794.

4.1.1 Turbans

In the Levant, especially, the people had never adopted the apparel, such as turbans, worn by Muslims in other countries. Woolen caps were worn instead of turbans, and all Andalusians donned a kind of short, dark cloak –sometimes hooded – called the *taylasan*, which is probably the original of our academic hood¹⁷¹.

4.1.2 Murcia

Professor Emilio Martínez discusses in his book the tombstone of a certain Ibn al-Azraq (566/1171) in Murcia and many other inscriptions¹⁷².

4.1.3 A remarkable woman in Murcia

María Luisa Ávila mentions the following remarkable woman in those years¹⁷³:

Amat al-Rahmán bint `Abd al-Hagq b. Gálíb b. Tammám b. `Abd al-Ra'úf b. `Abd Alláh b. Tammám b. Jálíd b. Jufáf b. `Atiyya al-Muháribi, Umm al-Haná' o Umm Háni (s. VI/XII)¹⁷⁴.

¹⁷¹ **ELMORE, Gerald** (2000). Poised Expectancy: Ibn al-`Arabi's Roots in "Sharq al-Andalus". In: *Studia Islamica*, Nº. 90, pp. 51-56. Citation on p. 53.

¹⁷² **MARTÍNEZ ENAMORADO, Emilio** (2009) *Inscripciones árabes de la Region de Murcia*, p. 217

¹⁷³ **ÁVILA, María Luisa** (1989) *Las mujeres "sabias" en Al-Andalus*. In: *La mujer en al-Andalus: reflejos históricos de su actividad y categorías sociales*. Edition de María J. Viguera. Madrid, Sevilla, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, pp. 139-184. Citation on pp. 151-152

¹⁷⁴ **IBN AL-ABBAR**. (1887) *Al-Takmila li-kitab al-Sila*. Ed. F. Codera, en BAH, v. V-VI, Madrid. Edition M. Alarcón and C.A. Gonzalez Palencia, in: *Miscelánea de Estudios y textos árabes*, Madrid, 1915, pp. 147-690

IBN `ABD AL-MALIK AL-MARRAKUSI, *Al-Dayl wa-l-takmila*. V. I-1-2, VIII-2, ed. M. IBN SARIFA, Beirut, (Without year). V. VI y V-1-2, ed. I. `ABBAS, Beirut, 1964 y 1965. See VIII-2, Nº. 235.

AL MAQQARI. *Nafh al-lib*. Ed. I. `ABBAS, Beirut, 1388/1968, 8v. See IV, p. 292

PONS BOIGUES, F. (1898) *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los Historiadores y Geógrafos árabe-españoles*. Madrid, 1898, p. 513

From Granada.

Daughter of Abû Muhammad Ibn `Atiyya, qadi de Almeria.

She married (tazawwapa-ha-) Abû `Ali al-Hasan b. Muhammad b. Hassân al-Qudá'i (25), *katib* de Ibn Mardanis, and had a child named Abû Ya'far Ahmad (26), author of *Al-Yumal wa-l-tafsil fi tadbir al-sihha fi l-igdma wa-l-rahil*, which was about medicines.

She then married (jalafa-hu `alay-haz con Abû `Abd al-Rahmán Muhammad b. Táhir al-Qaysi (27) and had another child, Abû Ya'far `Abd al-Hagq (28), who was author of *al-Usúl fi sind'at al-'adad al-'amaliyya*, which was a calculus book.

She studied with her father and her father with her. Her production includes a work on tombs (*Qubûr*) and another on prayers (*ad'iya*); in the latter al-Marrákusi found her name in a *iyâza* that she had given to those who had studied with her. She was also a poet.

However, in another study Aquilar states that she was the daughter of the celebrated Grenadian traditionalist 'Abd Al-Ḥaqq b. 'Ayya, who was born in Granada in 1088 and died in 1147 in Lorca. He was a judge from Almeria till the fall of the Almoravids, and studied in Murcia with Abu 'Ali al-Sadafi¹⁷⁵.

Fatima's first son Abû Ya'far Ahmad was a doctor in Murcia and devoted himself to music. He originally came from Ondo, and died in Marrâkus in 598/1201 or 599/1202¹⁷⁶.

On the other hand her second husband Abû `Abd al-Rahmán Muhammad b. Táhir al-Qaysi belonged to an old noble family in Murcia. He was given command of the city by its inhabitants

¹⁷⁵ **AGUILAR, Victoria** (2016) *Fatima, Amat al-Rahman y otras mujeres en el mundo del saber de Murcia en el siglo XII*. In: IX Congreso Internacional AUDEM. Universidad de Murcia. Facultad de Letras. M^a Gloria Ríos Guardiola, M^a Belén Hernández González, Encarna Esteban Bernabé (eds.), pp. 27-46 Citation on p. 32.

¹⁷⁶ **IBN `ABD AL-MALIK AL-MARRAKUSI**, *Al-Dayl wa-l-takmila*. V. I-1-2, VIII-2, edition M. IBN SARIFA, Beirut, (Without year). V. VI y V-1-2, ed. I. 'ABBAS, Beirut, 1964 y 1965. See I, pp. 87-94

in 540/1145 and subsequently ousted from power, remaining a refugee in his house. He had studied with Abú Muhammad Ibn `Atiyya and died in 574/1178¹⁷⁷. Her second son Abú Ya'far `Abd al-Hagq was born in 539/1144 and died in muharram (first month of the Islamic calendar) of 598/October 1201. He devoted himself to the religious sciences¹⁷⁸.

4.1.4 Other influent persons

During the reign of Ibn Mardanis there was another physician in Murcia. His name was Ahmad b. Muhammad, Abu l-`Abbas, al Qaysi, al-`Abdari, known as al-Frandawi. He was born in Jaen in 1116 and taught Arab and Literature in Murcia. He devoted himself to medicine and literature, but was also a good grammarian. He died in Murcia in 1163¹⁷⁹.

Conde¹⁸⁰ mentions Aben Hemsek as King of Murcia in 1165 (h. 560). Edward J. Jurji¹⁸¹ let us know that Abu-Bakr Muhammad ibn-'Ali Muhyi al-Din al-.Atimi al-Ta'i was born in Murcia in 1165 A. D. and died in Damascus 1240.

¹⁷⁷ **IBN AL-ABBAR.** (1887) *Al-Takmila li-kitab al-Sila*. Ed. F. Codera, en BAH, v. V-VI, Madrid. Edition M. Alarcón and C.A. Gonzalez Palencia, in: Miscelánea de Estudios y textos árabes, Madrid, 1915, pp. 147-690. See BAH, Nº. 774

¹⁷⁸ **IBN AL-ABBAR.** (1887) *Al-Takmila li-kitab al-Sila*. Ed. F. Codera, en BAH, v. V-VI, Madrid. Edition M. Alarcón and C.A. Gonzalez Palencia, in: Miscelánea de Estudios y textos árabes, Madrid, 1915, pp. 147-690. See BAH, Nº. 1807

¹⁷⁹ **AGUILAR, Victoria** (2016) *Identidad y vida intelectual en la Murcia de Ibn Mardanis*. In: Política, sociedad e identidades en el Occidente islámico (siglos XI-XIV), pp. 13-43, citation on p. 35

¹⁸⁰ **CONDE, José Antonio** (1820) *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en España*, Volume II. (on the first pages)

¹⁸¹ **JURJI, Edward J.** (1937) *The Illuministic Sufis*. In: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 57, Nº 1, pp. 99-101

4.1.5 Libraries

Mid-nineteenth century Andalusian Spain had in different parts of the Peninsula seventy libraries, and the number of authors who had given Cordoba, Murcia, Almeria, Granda, Seville, Toledo, etc. was amazing: Cordoba had formed 150 authors of medicine; Almería 52, Murcia 61; Malaga 53; Portugal 25, and these numbers are without giving the list of Granada, Seville, Valencia and Toledo¹⁸².

4.1.6 Al-Zuhri

Mohammed Ibn Abu Bakr al-Zuhri of Granada was a geographer. He was the writer of the notable work *Kitab al-Jaghrafiyya* (Book of Geography). Al-Zuhri was able to use the writings of the geographers of the reign of Caliph Al-Ma'mun of Baghdad (d. 456/1068). Al-Zuhri died between 1154 and 1161.

Al-Zuhri, writing in the twelfth century, certainly knew the places where the river Segura originated, because he spent time in Segura de la Sierra¹⁸³:

¹⁸² **HERNÁNDEZ MOREJON, Antonio** (1842). *Historia Bibliográfica de la Medicina Española*, Tomo I, p. 125.

¹⁸³ Literature used:

Paragraphs 255-257 (according to the edition of M. Hadj-Sadok) of the *Kitab al-Ya'rafiyya* de az-Zuhri.

GASPAR REMIRO, Mariano (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*, Zaragoza, pp. 33 and 35

Ms. árabe de la B.N. n° 4999, f° 21.

Examples: "Ayni Albirid" < al-'ayn al-barid, Ayni Alquibir <; al-'ayn al-kab'ir (J. Martínez Ruiz "Toponimia menor de las Tahas de Ferreyra...", In: Actes. XVI Congrès Intenacional de Linguística i Filología Romàniques, Palma de Mallorca 1985, vol. II, p. 320); and also "Alhaynalamar". Works cited by:

CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso (1996) Murcia en los geógrafos árabes. Comunidad Autónoma Universidad de Murcia, proyecto (PSH95/92). See:

<http://asociacionsierradesegura.blogspot.com.es/2013/01/anales-ii-quince-textos-arabes.html>

The river springs on the southern slope of this mountain and flow downwards to Murcia and its vicinities. This river ... of all the rivers of al-Andalus, because of its two banks from where people extracted water for irrigation along a journey of seven days, flows until it merges into the sea. The beginning of this river is a source that flows in a place called “Gorge of Yamur”; enough water comes from that place to move five millstones. The first who drink this water are the inhabitants of a village in ... Then the river continues downwards and joins the river Mesones (Misun. S). The latter river originates from the bowels of the mountains of ... , in a place called “Desfiladero de la Mina” (The Mine Gorge).

In that place there is a mountain with a huge rock atop that juts out in the air about a mile from the ground, and at the top of this rock there is a large cave from where emerges a spring which releases its water about ten fathoms into the air. Water falling on a rock produces a sound that can be heard from far away, like the rumble of a thunder. Then the current is directed to the east, to the village known as Mesones, from where this river got its name, which is the first Muslim border. From the mentioned rock a small stream of water is directed to the west, forming the source of the river Guadalimar. Consequently the river of Murcia as well as that of Cordoba participates in this water.

As for the river Tindávar (Tindabar), whose waters flow to Murcia, it descends to a place called Pajares (Balyaris), where it receives an input from the river Mundo (Munyus). At that confluence is a field of red sulphur, a mineral not found in any other inhabited place on earth. It is exported to all countries of the world: Iraq, Yemen, Syria, etc. From this point to the city of Murcia there are about 12 parasangs [about 66km]. The river follows its course and then receives the waters of the river Calasparra (Qalasbara); thereafter it enters a narrow gorge known as “the Strait of the Fuente Negra (Black Source). The gorge and source are wonders of the world. God created this gorge halving a mountain of red marble. The slit is formed, right and left, by two walls, each of which is fifty fathoms high. Its length is four parasangs [about 22km]. Its widest part measures a marya “[23

meters], and its narrowest part a quarter of a *marya*'. There the sun does not penetrate, but when the sun is in the sign of Gemini [i.e., when the day is longer].

Wood passes downwards in this river through this gorge to the city of Murcia and beyond. At the end of the gorge is Fuente Negra. This is a fountain gushing in the middle of the river current, sending water through the air to the height of about a fathom. The water from this source occurs in the same riverbed and is a black sulphuric water, bitter in taste. It is said that this water comes from the source that the Christians from Madinat Iyya clogged. This city was one of those of the agreement between Theodomir, king of the Christians, with Musa ben Nusayr, when the latest conquered al-Andalus. The fountain in question was found in that city, and gave water to the whole land. The Christians stopped it, and it flowed through this site. Between these places there are about twelve parasangs. From the fountain it flows without interruption to the inhabited places on either side of the river, over 30 parasangs, to Murcia. There are also 30 parasangs from Murcia to the sea¹⁸⁴.

4.1.7 Al-Idrisi

Abu Abd Allah Muhammad al-Idrisi al-Qurtubi al-Hasani al-Sabti or simply Al Idrisi (1099–1165) was a Muslim geographer, cartographer, Egyptologist, and traveller who lived in Sicily at the court of King Roger II. Muhammed al-Idrisi was born in Ceuta, then belonging to the Moroccan Almoravids, and died in Sicily. Al Idrisi was a descendant of the Idrisids, who were descendants of Hasan bin Ali, the son of Ali and the grandson of the Islamic prophet Muhammad. Aldrisi¹⁸⁵ wrote the following about Murcia¹⁸⁶:

¹⁸⁴ CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso (1998) In: *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana*, Nº. 21-22, pp. 59-70.

¹⁸⁵ AL-IDRISI: *Nuzhat al-mustaq*. ed. ár. R. P. Dozy; M. J. de Goeje: *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrisi*, Leiden. ed. E. J. Brill. 1866 (reimpr. 1968). ed. ár.: 175. trad. fr. Nueva ed. ár. completa en base a nuevos mss.: AL-IDRISI. *Opvs Geographicum*. Nápoles-Roma. ed. Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli / Istituto Italiano per Medio ed Estremo Oriente. 1970-78; ed. crít. ár del Cuarto Clima (Al-Andalus): M. T. Petti Suma; C. E. Dubler: U. Rizzitano; R. Di Meglío: *Fascicvlvs Qvintvs*. 1975.

From Murcia to hisn (castle) of Molina, to the bedding of the river, there are 8 miles; up to the hisn of Ricote there are 12 miles; up to the hisn of Cieza (Siyasa), 6 miles; up to the hisn of Calasparra there are 18 miles; up to the Sierra of “La Cabeza del Asno”, 10 miles; up to the hisn of Uyra (?) 12 miles; and up to the Sierra of Segura 12 miles.

(...) All the husun (castles) mentioned in this way are on the bedrock of the river Blanco, which is the river of Murcia¹⁸⁷.

The river of Cordoba called Rio Grande (an-Nahr al-Kabir) and the river called “Blanco” (White), which passes through Murcia. The river crossing Cordoba springs in the mountain (of Segura). It is a collection of waters similar to al-Ghadir (La Charca) emerging from this mountain; and then the waters sink under rocks reappearing downstream, and then it takes its course westward.

Following the maritime route and after crossing Cartagena there is a place called Sayana by Idrisi. He states that it is situated at a good distance from the port of Cartagena and it is about twenty-four miles along the coastal road. In the vicinity there is a farmhouse or village. Furthermore Idrisi let us know that there

Trad. esp. publicada póstumamente de los fragmentos dedicados a la Península Ibérica (Climas 4° y S°): César E. Dubler: «Al-Andalus en la Geografía de al-Idrisi», Studi Maghrebini, Nápoles, ed. Istituto Orientale di Napoli. 20. 1988

¹⁸⁶ **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso** (1996) *Murcia en los geógrafos árabes*. Comunidad Autónoma Universidad de Murcia, proyecto (PSH95/92). See:

<http://asociacionsierradesegura.blogspot.com.es/2013/01/anales-ii-quince-textos-arabes.html>

¹⁸⁷ **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso** (1990) *Recorrido por la geografía histórica de la Murcia islámica*. En: Guía Islámica de la Región de Murcia, Murcia, 1990, pp. 13-29. Cita en p. 22

is a place called Bā (Mar Menor), Tarf al-Qabtal (Cabo Palos) and Burtman al-Kibir (Portman)¹⁸⁸.



The ports of the southern coast of Murcia after the conquest of Granada¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ **AL-IDRISI:** Nuzhat al-mustaq. ed. ár. R. P. Dozy; M. J. de Goeje: Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrisi, Leiden. ed. E. J. Brill. 1866 (reimpr. 1968), pp. 235-236. Cited by **GARCÍA ANTÓN, José** (1980) *Le Región de Murcia en tiempos del Islam*. In: Historia de la Región Murciana, Volume III, pp. 60-61

¹⁸⁹ **MENJOT, Denis** (2004). Ports et tracs maritimes sur la côte murcienne au Moyen Age (milieu XIIIe-milieu XVIe siècle). Ghislaine Fabre, Daniel Le Blévec, Denis Menjot. Les ports et la navigation en Méditerranée au Moyen Âge, Nov 2004, Lattes (Hérault), France. Association pour la connaissance du patrimoine en Languedoc-Roussillon, pp.201-212, 2009. Citation on p. 201.



Jardines de la Dar as Sugra
Pintura de: (c) Zacarías Cerezo

4.1.8 Caravaca

The urban and administrative category of Caravaca around of 1165 is the one of a *hisn*, as it is detached from the following text of the Oriental author Yaqut. The reason why this wise man of Bagdad occupied, although shortly, the distant Caravaca in his *Dictionary of Countries* was the need to give out the fact that allowed identifying the nisba, or the last name of a poet from Caravaca. This author says: Caravaca is a *hisn* situated to the north of Murcia. From it Abu l-Hassan ‘Abiasan al-‘Abbás, an excellent poet, took his nisba¹⁹⁰.

¹⁹⁰ *Mu'yam al-buldan*, ed. Beirut 1979, Vol. 4, p. 319. Cited by **CARMONA, Alfonso** (1997). El noroeste murciano en época árabe. En:

Another castle and farmstead of the Cora of Tudmir is Caravaca (Al-Qarabâka) which according to al-Himyari belongs to the district (iqlim) of Mula, and which was a farmstead whose waters produced kidney stones¹⁹¹.

4.1.9 Arabic names of Tudmir's villages

There is a very long list of Arabic names of the villages of Tudmir in the articles of Molina López¹⁹² and Vallvé Bermejo¹⁹³. The relation of the alphabetically ordered Arabic names of them is the following:

Places indicated by Molina López and Vallvé Bermejo

Present name	Arabic name	Author
Aguilas	Aqila	Al-Idrisi
Albacete	Al.Basît	Vallvé
Alcantarilla	Qantara Askâba	Al-Idrisi
Alhama	Al-Hamma Hâmma bi Laqwar	Al-Idrisi ¹⁹⁴
Alicante	Laqant	Al-Idrisi
Aljucer ?	Al-Yuzayra	Molina López
Almodóvar	Al-Mudawwar	Molina López

Miscelánea Medieval Murciana, Vol. XXI-XXII, págs. 59-70. Citation on p. 63.

¹⁹¹ **LEVI-PROVENÇAL, E. and AL-MUNIM AL-HIMYARI** (1938) *La Peninsule iberique au Moyen age d'après le Kitab al-Rawd al-mitar d'Ibn Abd al-Mun'im al-Himayari* (Leiden, E. J. Brill), pp. 150-180. Cited by **MOLINA LÓPEZ, Emilio** (1972) *La Cora de Tudmir según Al'udri (S. XI)*. In: Cuadernos de historia del Islam, N°. 3, pp. 7-113. Citation on p. 32

¹⁹² **MOLINA LÓPEZ, Emilio** (1972). *La Cora de Tudmir según Al'Udri (S. XI)*. In: Cuadernos de historia del Islam, N°. 3, pp. 7-113.

¹⁹³ **VALLVÉ BERMEJO, Joaquín** (1972). *La cora de «Tudmir»*. In: *Al-Andalus vol. 37* (1972) p. 145-190

¹⁹⁴ **AL-IDRÎSÎ, Muhammad b. Muhammad**, *Kitâb Nuzhat al-mustag fi ijtirâq al-âfâq* (Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrisi), ed. y trad. Franc. par R. Dozy y M.J. de Goeje, Leyden 1866.

(Guardamar del Segura)		
Assojairat Castillo de Ricote	Sujayrât	Gaspar y Remiro
Balazote	Balât al Sûf Balât Sûf	Vallvé
Begastri ?	Buqasra	Molina López
Cabo de Palos	Tarf al-Qabsâl	Molina López
Cabo de Santa Pola	Santa Bûla or Tarf al- Nâtûr	Al-Idrisi
Calasparra	Qalasbârra	Vallvé
Callosa del Segura	Qalyûsa	Lévi-Provençal – Historia ..musulmana ¹⁹⁵
Caravaca	Al-Qarabâka	Rawd – al Himyari
Cartagena	Qartâyanna	Molina López
Catral	Al-Qatrûlât	Al-Udri – Tarsa Nota
Chinchilla	Sintiyâla Yinyâlla	Molina López
Cieza	Siyâsa	Al-‘Udrî – Cora de Tudmir ¹⁹⁶
Crevillente	Qarbalyân	Rawd- al Himyari ¹⁹⁷
Cuevas de Almanzora	Al.Mansûra	Vallvé
Denia	Dâniya	Molina López
Elche	Ils	Al-‘Udrî – Cora de Tudmir
Escombreras	Askumrîra	Molina López
Hellín	Falyân	Pacheco Paniagua ¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ **LÉVI-PROVENÇAL E.**, Historia de la España musulmana hasta la caída del Califato de Córdoba, Vol. IV de la Historia de España dirigida por R. Menéndes Pidal. Traducción de E. Garcá Gómez, Madrid 1937.

¹⁹⁶ **MOLINA LÓPEZ, Emilio** (1972). La Cora de Tudmir según Al’Udri (S. XI). In: Cuadernos de historia del Islam, Nº. 3, pp. 7-113.

¹⁹⁷ **LEVI-PROVENÇAL, E. and AL-MUNIM AL-HIMYARI** (1938). *La Peninsule iberique au Moyen age d’après le Kitab al-Rawd al-mitar d’Ibn Abd al-Mun’im al-Himayari* (Leiden, E. J. Brill).

¹⁹⁸ **PACHECO PANIAGUA, J.A.** (1979). Sobre la etimología árabe de Albacete. In: Al Basit, 2ª época, año V, Nº. 6, pp. 71-78. Citation on p. 74. *Dîkr bilâdi l-Andalus wa-fadli-hâ wa-şifati-hâ*, ed. y trad. de L. Molina: *Una descripción anónima de al-Andalus*, CSIC, Madrid, 1983, vol. I, p. 76. Cited by **CARMONA, Alfonso** (2009). El sur de Albacete y los emplazamientos

Huércal-Overa	Warkal	Vallvé
Huéscar	Uskar or Iskar	Vallvé
Isla Carboneras	Yazira Qarbunayra	Molina López
Isla Grosa	Yazîrat al-Firân	Molina López
Librilla	Librâla	Al-Idrisi, Descripción
Lorca	Lurqa	Molina López
Lugar 5 km del mar	Al-Mudawwir	Al-‘Udrî – Cora de Tudmir
Mar Menor	Bâlîs	Al-Idrisi
Mojácar	‘Aqaba Sâqir	Al-Idrisi
Molina	Mulîna	Ibn al-Abbâr, Takmila ¹⁹⁹
Monteagudo	Hullat al-siyara	Francisco José Navarro Suárez ²⁰⁰
Moratalla	Mûratal la	Vallvé
Mula	Mûla	Molina López
No identificado	Iqlîm of Laqwar	Molina López
Orihuela	Ûryûla	Molina López
Pennas de Sant Pedro	Sant Bitr	Vallvé
Petrel	Batrîr	Vallvé
Puerto de Potman	Burtumân al-Kabir	Molina López
Ricote	Riqût	Al-Râzi ²⁰¹
Ruins near Cehegin	Yabal Buqasra al-Qal’a	Molina López
Sangonera	Sanqunayra	Molina López
San Pedro	Benibedar	Pocklington ²⁰²
Sax	Says	Vallvé
Suñana	Sayâna	Al-Idrisi
Taibilla	Taybaliya	Molina López

de Iyuh. In: Al-Basit Revista de Estudios Albacetenses, Tercera época, Año XXXIII, N°. 54, pp. 5-27.

¹⁹⁹ **IBN AL-ABBÂR**, Takmila: Kitâb al-Takmila li Kitâb al-Sila, edit. of F. Codera, Bibliot. Arab. Hisp., V-VI, Madrid 1887.

²⁰⁰ **NAVARRO SUÁREZ, Francisco José & MARTÍNEZ SALVADOR, Carmen** (1998). Monteagudo, el castillo del rey lobo. In: Cuadernos de patrimonio histórico-artístico de Murcia, Murcia, p. 3.

²⁰¹ **AL-RÂZÎ**, Description de l’Espagne, por E. Lévi-Provençal, *Al-Andalus*, XVIII (1953).

²⁰² **POCKLINGTON, Robert** (1982). Sobre algunos topónimos árabes murcianos. In: Al-Qantara, Vol. III- Fasc. 1 y 2, pp. 173-214. Citation on p. 47.

Tobarra	Tubarra	Molina López
Tolmo de Minateda	Iyih	Abad Casal ²⁰³
Totana	Tawtana	Molina López
Ulea (actual) ?	Al-Sujur	Al-Râzî
Unknown	Tarsa (3 miles from Elche)	Al-Udri ²⁰⁴ – Tarsi
Unknown	Tal al-Jattâb (8 miles from Orihuela)	Al-Udri – Tarsi
Unknown	Tara or Taza	Molina López
Unknown	Taws (farmstead)	Molina López
Unknown	Al-Muwallidîn (south of Orihuela)	Molina López
Unknown	Afs Near Mursiya	Rawd – al Himyari
Unknown	Niwâla	Yâqût, Mu'jam ²⁰⁵
Unknown	Tutiya	Molina López
Unknown	Assajur	Gaspar y Remiro
Vélez Rubio	Balis or Bâlis	Vallvé
Vera	Bayra Bîra	Al-Idrisi
Villena	Balâna Biliyâna	Molina López
Yeste	Balantiska Al-Niska	Al-Râzî
Yusr	Fortuna	Gaspar y Remiro

²⁰³ **ABAD CASAL, Lorenzo & GUTIÉRREZ LLORET, Sonia** (1997). Iyih (El Tolmo de Minateda, Hellín, Albacete). Una civitas en el limes Visigodo-Bizantino. In: La tradición en la Antigüedad Tardía. Antig. Crist. (Murcia) XIV, pp. 591-600.

²⁰⁴ **AL-'UDRÎ**, Abû l-'Abbâs Ahmad b. 'Umar b. Anas, Tarsi' al-ajbâr watanwi' al-âtâr wa-l-bustân fî garâ'ib al-buldân wa-l-masâlik ilâ yamî' almamâlik, edición por 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Ahwânî, Madrid – Instituto de Estudios Islámicos – 1965.

²⁰⁵ **YÂQÛT**, Mu'yam: Kitâb mu'ym al-buldân, heraus. Von Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1886.

There is another very long list of Arabic names of the villages of Tudmir in the book of Ponzoa Cebrian²⁰⁶. The relation of the alphabetically ordered Arabic names of Ponzoa Cebrian is the following:

Present name	Arabic name	Latin
Abanilla	Angebala	Tadmir
Aguilas, Villaricos	Acle	Urci
Albacete	Albasit	Abula
Albarracin	Albarracin	Abdera
Albatana y Ontur	Albatana	Elotana
Albaterra	Albater	Abdera
Albudeite	Albet	AAEO
Alcantarilla	Cantarac	Askayato
Aledo	Alalahet	AAEO
Algezares	Algelab	Abdera
Alhama	Alahama	Libralla
Alicante	Alacant	Alona ó Lucentum
Aljucer	Aljucer	Abdera
Almansa	Meca	Orcelis
Almeria	Almeria	Abdera
Almodovar	Almodovar	Abdera
Almoradí	Almoradi	Mons-Acutus
Alpera	Biar	Apiarium
Alquerías	Bacats	Cepti
Archena	Arxilla	Arcila
Ayora	Auriolet	Auriola
Belchid	Valschid	Cepti
Benatea	Ben-Ataf	Accis
Beniajan	Beni-Haxan	Cepti
Beniel	Beni-Eli, ó Alé	Cepti
Bigastro	Berts	Cepti
Bullas	Balkur	Segisa
Calasparra	Gaschbarro	Bergula
Campo Coy	Coi	Ascui
Campo Jara	Campo Jara	Morus
Campo Tebar	Tebaa	Tebar

²⁰⁶ **PONZOA CEBRIAN, Felix** (1845) *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en Murcia*, pp. 18-20

Carabaca	Cara-Ucaac	Tadmir
Caravaca (de Caravaca)	Eschaschmen Vergiliat	Accis
Cartagena	Curthagent	Cartago Nova
Caudete	Alcaudete	Bugabra
Cehegin	Schegin	Segisa
Ceuti	Zebit	Cepti
Chinchilla (de Chinchilla)	Ghenghalet	Tadmir
Chinchilla	Cinxela	Saltici
Cieza	Zieza	Catina
Cingla	Singla	Gingela
Coy	Alkor	Segisa
El carche	Carca	Kaska
Elche de la Sierra	Helch	Illici
Ferez	Afred	Yeklazo
Fuente Alamo	Maineton (?)	Maineton
Guadix	Guad-Aix	Accis
Guardamar	Alona-Sant	Tadmir
Hellin	Felin	Illunum
Iso	Isso	Asso
Jiquena	Elibat	AAEO
Jumilla	Gheinalet Jumilla	Gemina Coimbra
Jumilla (de Jumilla)	Raxa	Elotana
Jumilla (Venta de Jumilla)	Roman	Elotana
Librilla	Librela	Libralla
Lietor	Afred	Munda
Lorca	Lurcat	Eliocrota
Lorqui (de Lorqui)	Almanzora	Cepti
Lorquí	Lorki	Illorcis
Mazarron	Almazarron	Ficaria
Molina	Mola	Illorcis
Monovar	Monovar	Mons-Acutus
Monteagudo	Montacut	Mons-Acutus
Moratalla	Azarabe	Bergula
Morate	Murga	Murgis
Mula	Mulat	Muan
Murcia	Mursia, Mursiat,	Arcilasis

	Mursiet	
Murcia (castillo y pueblo de Murcia)	Hemad	Cepti
Murcia (de Murcia)	Lecant Sallent	Cepti
Nerpio (de Nerpio)	Taibilla	Taibona
Ocete	Zethú	Segisa
Ojos de Luchena	Elcucharet	Segisa
Ontur (de Ontur)	Albatans	Turbala
Orihuela (de Orihuela)	Atzet	Ota
Orihuela	Oriola	Orcelis
Playa Portus	Sohana	Sogana
Pliego	Yakat	Muan
Pozolorente	Cinxela	Putea
Quidpar	Alponti	AAEO
Raya y Puebla	Sant-Aren	Cepti
Ricote	Guad-Rocot	Illorcis
San Ginés	Portoman	Port-man
Santomera	San-Omera	Cepti
Sax	Saxona	Salaria
Segura (de Segura)	Forgiolieti	AAEO
Segura	Xecura	Castrum-Altum
Tobarra	Tibala	Turbala
Totana	Tutana	Libralla
Valdeganga	Walonxa	Valeponga
Villanueva	Giomala	Tebar
Villena	Veliaria	Turbula
Villena (de Villena)	Veliaria	Vacasora
Yecla	Takla	Yeklazo
Yeclara (de Yecla)	Arabi	Yeklazo
Yeste	Jasen-Lebit	Gesen
Yeste (de Yeste)	Guntar	Castrum-Altum
Zacatin	Zakatin	Bergula
Zeneta	Adzenet	Cepti

4.1.10 Orihuela

The western walls in Orihuela are bathed by this river; a pontoon bridge provides access to the city. It is defended by a very strong castle, built at the top of a mountain; it is provided with gardens and orchards which are close to one another and produce prodigious quantity of fruit. It enjoys all the comforts of life. There are bazaars and farms.

Orihuela to the sea, 20 miles.

From Orihuela to Murcia, 12 miles

and to Cartagena, 45 miles

4.1.11 Lorca

Lorca is a major city, fortified on a mountain, with a Bazaar and suburb surrounded by walls and situated beneath the city. The market, customs and drugstores are in the suburbs. The country produces yellow soil (ocher) and red soil (blood colour) of which they make major export. There are 40 miles from Lorca to Murcia.

4.1.12 Murcia

Murcia, the capital of Tudmir, is located on a plain on the banks of the White River. A thriving well populated suburb depends on it, as the city is surrounded by walls and very strong fortifications. This suburb is crossed by flowing water. The city is built on one of the reeves of the river by means of a pontoon bridge. There are mills built on ships, like the mills of Zaragoza, which can be transported from one place to another, and there are many gardens, orchards, arable land, vineyards planted with fig trees. On this city depend various strong castles, major cities, and districts of incomparable beauty.

And here finishes the description of the towns of Orihuela, Lorca, and Murcia in the work of ibn Idrisi²⁰⁷.

4.1.13 Muhammad Ibn Malik, secretary

At the time of Ibn Mardanix there existed homosexual poetry. Andalusian Arabic poetry offered the most complete representation of this genre. Even poetry from Murcia was devoted exclusively to the love of boys. In this case it was Muhammad Ibn Malik²⁰⁸, who was the secretary of King Ibn Mardanix:

I saw a shapely youth in the mosque,
beautiful as the moon when it comes out.
Those who see him bending to pray say:
“All my desires are that he prostrate himself²⁰⁹”.

²⁰⁷ **AL-IDRISI:** *Nuzhat al-mustaq*. ed. ár. R. P. Dozy; M. J. de Goeje: Description de l’Afrique et de l’Espagne par Edrisi, Leiden. ed. E. J. Brill. 1866 (reimpr. 1968), pp. 234-239

²⁰⁸ **JONES, Alan** (1988) *Romance kharjas in Andalusian Arabic muwashshah poetry: a palaeographical analysis* / by Alan Jones. 1st ed. London : Ithaca Press for the Board of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, Oxford University

²⁰⁹ **ROTH, Norman** (1982). “Deal gently with the young man”: Love of Boys in Medieval Hebrew Poetry of Spain. In: *Speculum*, Vol. 57, N° 1, pp. 20-51. Citation on 27-28.



Al-Idrisi, Spanish stamp issued on June 15, 2006.

In the Mosque

Slender he was, and fair
 As the uprising moon;
 I saw him stand to prayer
 In the mosque at noon.

And as he bent low
 Worshipping, I cried:
 'All desire shall so
 Be richly satisfied!'²¹⁰

²¹⁰ IBN SA'ID (1953). Moorish Poetry. Translated by A.J. Arberry.

4.1.14 Other secretaries of Ibn Mardanix

Another secretary was Muhammad b. Ahmad b. ‘Amir al-Balawi, known as al-Salimi. Originally from Tortoso he lived in Murcia and was an expert in *adap*, religious sciences, and history. With regards to these matters he had written various books, among them a book titled *Durar al-qala’id wa-gurar al-fawa’id* (Pearls of the necklaces and the best information). He was also a good poet in those days²¹¹.

‘Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad, Abu Muhammad, Al-Sulami al-Katib, known as al-Miknasi was also a secretary of Ibn Mardanis. He studied with ibn Saada and died in Marrakech in 1184²¹².

4.1.15 The river Blanco

As for the river Blanco of Murcia, it comes from the foot of this mountain, although some claim that the origin of both -I mean (say) the river of Cordoba and the one of Murcia- is the same. Thereafter the river passes through Fuente de al-Yantub and then leads to the population (hisn) of “f.r.d,” then to hisn Molina, and then to Murcia, and finally to al-Mudawwar, where it empties into the sea.

Murcia lies on a plain on the banks of the river Blanco.... People access the city crossing a bridge made of boats. It also has grinding mills on boats, just like the flour mills of Zaragoza, which are aboard on boats, which go from one side to the other. The city of Orihuela lies on the banks of the river Blanco, the

²¹¹ **CARMONA, Alfonso** (2000) *El saber y el poder: Ulemas levantinos de época de Ibn Mardanis*. In: Estudios Onomásticos-Biográficos de Al-Andalus (E.O.B.A.), Volume X. (María Luisa Ávila y Maribel Fierro, eds.). Biografías Almohades II. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid-Granada, pp. 57-130. Citation on p. 80

²¹² **AGUILAR, Victoria** (2016) *Identidad y vida intelectual en la Murcia de Ibn Mardanis*. In: Política, sociedad e identidades en el Occidente islámico (siglos XI-XIV), pp. 13-43, citation on p. 34

same as the city of Murcia. Its western walls are built on the same riverbed. The city has a bridge of boats by which people access it.

Another route that Al-Idrisi describes is that between Lorca and the port of Aguilas, through Cartagena to Almeria²¹³.

4.1.16 Al-Yakki, a native of Yakka (Yecla)

The writer and poet Abu Bakr Yahya ben Abbalqalil ben Shal al Yakki, a native of Yakka (Yecla)²¹⁴, was considered “the master of satire throughout the Western Islamic World²¹⁵”. Isfahani assures that al-Yakki died after 560/1164 and all his verses were satiric²¹⁶. He probably lived in Fez for the greatest part of his life.

Professor Alfonso Carmona did an extensive study of this poet and published his findings in various magazines and books²¹⁷. Al-Dabbi, a Murcian author, contemporary of Ibn Adris, and author of a biographic book titled *Bugyat al-Mutamis*²¹⁸, also wrote extensively about Ibn Sahl. Ibn al-Abbar also wrote about

²¹³ **AL-IDRISI**: Nuzhat al-mustaq. ed. ár. R. P. Dozy; M. J. de Goeje: Description de l’Afrique et de l’Espagne par Edrisi, Leiden. ed. E. J. Brill. 1866 (reimpr. 1968), p. 236. Cited by **GARCÍA ANTÓN, José** (1980). Le Región de Murcia en tiempos del Islam. In: Historia de la Región Murciana, Volume III, pp. 52-53.

²¹⁴ **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso** (2009) Yecla. Memoria de su identidad, pp. 99-102

²¹⁵ Arabic text *apud* al-Maqqari, *Nafh al-Tib*, ed. I. ‘Abbas, Beirut 1968, Vol. III, p. 205-206; translation of **GARCÍA GÓMEZ, Emilio** (1976) Elogio del Islam español. In: Andalucía contra Berbería, Barcelona, p. 108

²¹⁶ **AL-ISFAHANI** (1986) Haddat al-Qasr, vol. III, Tunis, p. 580 (nº 159)

²¹⁷ **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso** (2009) El periodo andalusí. Yecla en las fuentes árabes medievales. In: Yecla. Memorias de su identidad. Ayuntamiento de Yecla, pp. 99-102

²¹⁸ **Kitab bugya al-multamas fi riyal ahl al-Andalus / Ahmed b. Yahya b. Ahmad b. 'Amira al-Dabbi**; edited by Francisco Codera, Madrid 1885.

Ibn Sahl al-Yakki in his *Hulla* and cited two verses about him²¹⁹.

4.1.17 Ibn Saada, a Sufi in Murcia.

Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Yusuf Ibn Saada²²⁰ was an inhabitant of Xativa, but his ancestors dwelt in Valencia. He was the most important disciple of Abu 'Ali al-Sadafi, with whom he was related, and who left him all his book after his death. Having received lessons in his native place from many men distinguished for learning, he travelled to the western provinces of Spain for the same purpose. In 520/1126 he journeyed to the East, and there cultivated jurisprudence and other branches of knowledge. He made the pilgrimage in the following year, and on his return to Egypt, he frequented the society of Abu Tahir Ibn Auf, as-Silafi and other illustrious doctors. In the ear 526/1132 he returned to Murcia with a vast stock of information in the Traditions, Koran-reading, koranic interpretation, law, philology and scholasti theology. He had a inclination for Sufism. Being appointed member of the town council and preacher at the great mosque of Murcia, he began to teach the Traditions and jurisprudence, and he exercised the functions of *kadi* in the same city till the downfall of the Almoravides. He then passed to the kadiship of Xativa, and taught Traditions not only there, but in Murcia and Valencia, in which places also he filled the office of *Khatib*, or public preacher. Previously to this, he had taught Traditions at Almeria. He did at Xativa on the last day of Zu 'l-Hijja, in the

²¹⁹ Ibn al-Abbar (1963). *Kitáb al-hulla al-siyará'*, ed. H. Mu'nis, *El Cairo*, 1963. 2 vols, vol. II, p. 237

²²⁰ IBN KHALLIKAN (1843). *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, Volume 2, p. 501.

ABU BAKR AL-TURTUSI (1993). *Kitab al-Hawadit Wa-l-bida'* (El libro de las novedades y las innovaciones). Traducción y estudio: Maribel Fierro. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto de Cooperación con el mundo Árabe, p. 103.

year 565/1170, leaving one single work. He was born in the month of Ramadán, in the year 596/1103.

4.1.18 Abu l-‘Abbas in Murcia

Abu. l-‘Abbas was a native of Jaén, living in Murcia, where he studied Arabic literature. Then he worked in Elche. There he met Ibn ‘Iyad, who said about him that “He devoted himself successfully to medical science.” He died in Murcia on 24 Rabi I 559/20 February 1164.

4.1.19 Muhammad Abû ‘Âmir al-Sâlîmî

Muhammad Abû ‘Âmir al-Sâlîmî lived in Murcia and died in 1164. He was a writer, historian, poet, and doctor²²¹.

4.1.20 Abu' Bahr Sefwa'n, Ibn Idri's At-Tojibi'

He was a celebrated poet and historian, born at Murcia, in Spain, about A. h. 500 (A. D. 1106-7). Few particulars are known of his life; but his works, some of which are still in existence, are both numerous and important. He wrote a biographical dictionary of eminent authors and poets, who were his contemporaries, with numerous extracts from their writings in prose and verse. This production, which was held in great repute among the Arabs of Spain, was intended as a supplement to the "Kalayidu-l-'ikiyan" ("Gold Necklaces") by Ibn Khakan, a work containing the lives of illustrious men who lived in the sixth century of the Hijra. [Al.-Fatah Ibn Khakan.] Abû Bahr entitled his work, "Zadu-l-musáfiri" ("Food for the Traveller").

²²¹ **KAHHÂLA.** (without year). Mu'yam, Vol. VIII, p. 304. Cited by **RAMÓN GUERRERO, Amelina** (1997) *Rafi' al-Dawla Ibn al-Mu'tasim*. In: *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos (MEAHS)*, N°. 46, pp. 255-267. Citation on p. 267

It is in the Escorial library, No. 354. Abu Bahr also wrote an account of his travels through Spain and Africa; a work, in two volumes, on the advantages of science; and a poetical description of Mohammedan Spain, which he dedicated to 'Abdu-r-rahman, son of Abu YaTtub Yusuf, second sultan of the Al-muwahedun, or Almohades. He published also a collection from the best poets of his nation, entitled "Majmu' asha'r Andalus" ("A Collection of Andalusian Poetry "). Abu Bahr died at his native city, Murcia, in a. h. 578 (a. d. 1182-3)²²².

4.1.21 Al Hassib from Murcia (12th century)

We do not have his date of birth or death, but Tîfâsî let us know that Abu l-Hasan Huseyn al-Hasib al-Mursi was from Murcia. Abul-Hasan [ibn al-Hasan] ibn al-Hasib was a celebrated teacher of music. His musical science, practical as well as theoretical, was unique; "all the recent compositions heard in al-Andalus and in the Maghreb are attributed to him". He is the author of a work of several volumes in music²²³.

Some of the compositions of Al Hassib were composed for his governor Ibn Mardanîs. Among the poetic compositions created by Ibn Hasib, to which we add those of other poets sung on his melodic base of its creation and others that respond to his improvisations, the total of the compositions collected by Tifasi comes to 16, placing it importance in regards to other composers. It also indicates that some of the compositions of Ibn Hasib were sung in the vocal genres *sawt* and the *nasid* (*insád*)²²⁴.

²²² **VARIOUS** (1842). The Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of useful knowledge, Volume I, London, p. 188

²²³ **OSSEIRAN, Sanaa** (2004) *Cultural Symbiosis in Al-Andalus. A metaphor for peace*. Beirut-Lebanon, p. 301

²²⁴ **CORTÉS, Manuela** (2008) *Tratados Musicales andalusíes de la escuela Levantina y aportaciones al marco interdisciplinar* (ss. XI-XIII). In: Itamar.

4.1.22 Ahmad Saraf al-Dín al-Tîfâsî

Tîfâsî had said that in ancient time the song of the people of al-Andalus was either in the Christian style or in that of the Arab camel riders. Various authors wrote about Ibn Hassib²²⁵ from Murcia, but the best information about him was prepared by Benjamin M. Liu and James T. Monroe who stated among other things²²⁶:

Ahmad Saraf al-Dín al-Tîfâsî (1184-1253), was author of the first encyclopedia entitled *Fasl al-jitâb fî madârik al-jawâss al-jams li- 'ûli al-alâb* (Unerring Method for the Intelligent to Perceive with their Five Senses). Most of the encyclopedia has been lost, but a manuscript of volume 41 is still preserved in the private library of Muhammad al-Tâhir ibn 'Âsûr, in Tunis. With respect to the history of Murci chapters 10 and 11 of Al-Tîfâsî's *Muta'at al-Asmâ' fî 'ilm al-samâ'* (Pleasure to the Ears, on the Art of Music) are important. This topic was initially studied by Emilio García Gómez²²⁷ and later by James T. Monroe²²⁸.

Ibn Hassib was a musician from Murcia who wrote a large book on Andalusian music, now lost. His dates are uncertain, but it is known

Revista de investigación musical: territorios para el arte. Univesidad de Valecia, pp. 159-182. Citation on p. 174

²²⁵ **GALMÉS DE FUENTES, Álvaro** (1998) *Las jarchas mozárabes y la tradición lírica románica*. In: *Lírica popular / Lírica tradicional*. Leccionen en homenaje a Don Emilio García Gómez. Universidad de Sevilla / Fundación Machado, pp. 27-54. Citation on p. 33

²²⁶ **LIU, Benjamin M. & MONROE, James T.** (1989) *Ten Hispano-Arabic Strophic Songs in the Modern Oral Tradition*. Chapter: Ahmad al-Tîfâsî on Andalusian Music. University of California Press, Berkely, Vol. 125, pp. 35-44

²²⁷ **GARCÍA GÓMEZ, Emilio** (1958). La poesía lyrique hispano-arabe et l'appartition de la lyrique romane. In: *Al-Andalus*, 21, pp. 303-338.

GARCÍA GÓMEZ, Emilio (1962). Una extraordinaria página de Tifâsî y una hipótesis sobre la invención del zéjel. In: *Études d'Orientalisme, dédiées a la mémoire de E. Lévi-Provençal*, II, Paris, pp. 517-523.

²²⁸ **MONROE, James T.** (1987). A Sounding Brass and Tinkling Cymbal: Al-Halil in Andalus (Two Notes on the *Muwassaha*),” In: *La Corónica*, 15: 2, pp. 252-258.

that he was a contemporary of Abu ‘Imrân Mûsa ibn Sa’id (d. 1243), who, in turn, was the father of the famous Ibn Sa’id al-Andalusi (1213-1274). Abu ‘Imrân visited Ibn al-Hasib in person and heard him sing²²⁹. This would make the musician from Murcia an early thirteenth-century figure²³⁰.

Furthermore, Ahmad al-Tifâsi comments:

“The secretary and littérateur Abû l-Hasan ‘Ali, son of the teacher, expert, and historian, Abû ‘Imrân Mûsa Sa’id, informed me that the teacher Ibn Du<way>rayda, who was an expert on this subject, informed him, on the authority of Ibn al-Hâsib, that the latter told him [that] the songs of the people of Andalus were, in ancient times, either in the style of the Christians, or in the style of the Arab camel drivers, although they had no rules to rely upon until the establishment of the Umayyad dynasty.”

4.1.23 The Wolf King, Ibn Mardanis

The region of Murcia, the origin of the latter, as it appears from the Valencian School, was under the leadership of patron of the arts Ibn Mardanis (1147-1172) known in Christian sources as the Wolf King and character who exercised control of *Xarq al-Andalus* for three decades (1147-1172) as governor of Murcia and Valencia. He is known for the parties that he organized at his palace, at which came together a true Cenacle of scholars, poets, musicians, and singer slaves (*qiyan*), Ibn Mardanis was famous for having one of the most numerous orchestras (*sitarat*) of al-Andalus and parties to which Muslim emirs from

²²⁹ AL-MAQQARI, *Nafh al-Tib*, ed. Ihsân ‘Abbâs [Beirut: Dâr Sâdir. 1968], vol. 4. p. 138.

²³⁰ LIU, Benjamin M. & MONROE, James T. (1989). Ten Hispano-Arabic Strophic Songs in the Modern Oral Tradition. Chapter: Ahmad al-Tifâsî on Andalusian Music. University of California Press, Berkely, Vol. 125, pp. 35-44. Citation on p. 38.

other courts as well as high dignitaries of Christian courts²³¹ were often invited.

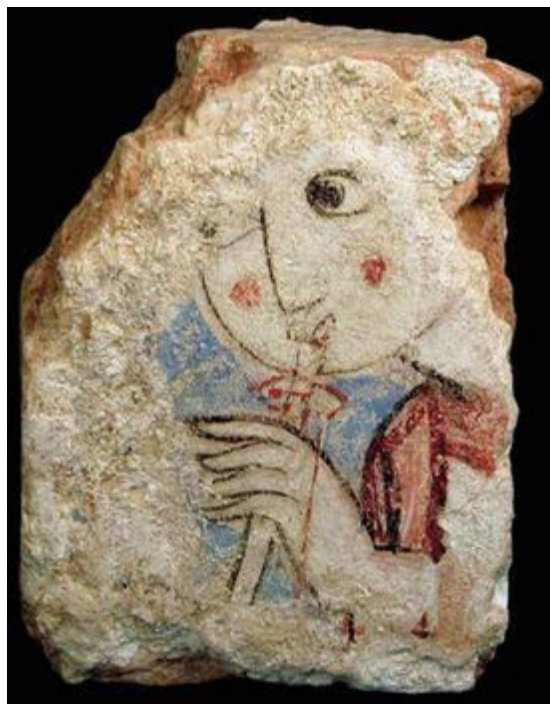
Alejandro García Avilés let us know what Ibn al-Khatib said in the 14th century about these festivals:

(Ibn Mardanish) had reserved two days a week, Mondays and Thursdays, for drinking with his guests. It was then when he had the habit of giving samples of generosity to his generals, notables, and troops. Those days he would kill a cow whose meat he would distribute among the soldiers. Those banquets were animated by slaves specialized in music, with their flutes (*mazamir*, sing.: *mizmar*) and their lauds (*a'wad*, sing.: *'ud*). With all of this he created an environment of extreme fun and this way he captured the hearts of his soldiers, who repaid him with total loyalty. Sometimes he made gifts for the guests of his intimate parties (...) ²³².

We still have a testimony of this epoch. It deals with a tooting stone (*adaraja*) belonging to a dome of ornamental design (*mocárabes*) dated in the second taifas (1147-1172). It is a painting to the temple on stucco and it was discovered in 1985 in the archaeological excavation carried out in the old refectory of the monastery of *Santa Clara la Real* de Murcia. It was located on the levels corresponding to the palace of Ibn-Mardanish.

²³¹ **CORTÉS, Manuela** (2008) *Tratados Musicales andalusíes de la escuela Levantina y aportaciones al marco interdisciplinar (ss. XI-XIII)*. In: Itamar. Revista de investigación musical: territorios para el arte. Univesidad de Valencia, pp. 159-182. Citation on p. 162

²³² **IBN AL-KHATIB** (1973) *Al-Ihata fī aqbar Garnata*. Edición M.A. Enan, vol. II, El Cairo, p. 122. Translation: Alfonso Carmona González. *Apud GARCÍA AVILÉS, Alejandro* (1998) *Arte y poder en Murcia en la época de Ibn Mardanish (1147-1172)*. In: El Mediterráneo y el Arte Español: Actas del XI Congreso del CEHA, Valencia, Septiembre 1996/coord. Por Joaquín Bérchez, Mercedes Gómez-Ferrer Lozano, Amadeo Serra Desfilis, 1998, pp. 31-37. Citation on p. 31



The flutist. Palace of the Wolf King, Murcia

The dome of the Muqarnas was decorated with vegetable, geometric, and figurative motifs. Among the last there is a feminine representation that plays a musical wind instrument. Its state of conservation does not allow contemplating her completely. For this reason it is unclear whether she was sitting or a part of a scene with more characters. From the face the big and almond shaped eyes are appreciated, the nose and two round and red marks are emphasized expressively on the cheeks. The neck, the right shoulder, and the left hand which holds the instrument are other anatomic features that have been conserved. She wears a short-sleeved reddish tunic of which the creases have been represented by darker lines. In this painting the dark lines that profile the outline of the face are observed,

the colours that are applied on the stucco do not create volume, but a flat painting, a little idealized because the roundness makes us identify her as a woman, the hand that holds the instrument is decompensated according to the dimensions of the figure, the lively look in the eyes that does not look at the spectator but deviates her look to another direction while she delicately grabs the mizmar could be related to the contemporary romantic painting that stands out because it develops a flat painting with no volume or perspective, like reflecting framed faces by black lines and with chubby cheeks that remind that the figure is not more important than the inside - what matters is what it wants to transmit and not the physical aspect of the represented figure²³³.

Ibn Mardanis had no embarrassment in tolerating Christian neighbourhoods in his cities provided by his tavern. He equipped the castle of Cieza with a Christian garnish²³⁴.

In January 2006 archaeologists found remains of a mosque from the 11th century in the church of San Juan de Dios (Murcia). The governmental spokeswoman Inmaculada Garcia explained that the Mihrab or oratorio had already been discovered in previous excavations, and emphasized that this was a particularly important finding because there was no element of these characteristics in the region. She informed that the arch dates from the eleventh and twelfth centuries were related by their characteristics with those of the Mezquita of Cordova. The structures appeared to be included within the enclosure of the medieval Islamic Alcazar Nisar and could be linked to the oratory of the mosque of the eleventh or twelfth century. The existence of an isolated family pantheon so close to the oratory

²³³ <http://historiadelartebachilleratomurcia.blogspot.com.es/2013/04/diapositivas-del-islam.html>

²³⁴ <http://cronicas-historicas-de-requena.webnode.es/news/el-rey-lobo-por-victor-manuel-galan-tendero-requena/> (2014)

is also an indication of its extreme importance. It deals with nine tombs on a marble floor and here are all reasons to believe that the Wolf King and his family could have been buried there.



The council seal of the outside of the Alcázar

An oratory of the Alcázar Nisar of Murcia probably dates from that time, as fully described by Susana Calvo in her study from which we only give a short excerpt:

The oratory of the Alcázar of Murcia, originally dated between the end of the 11th century and the mid twelfth century, is also characterized by recalling caliphic forms with the undoubted objective of legitimizing the new ruler. The remains of the mosque and the palatine pantheon were recently found under the church of San Juan de Dios. It is an exceptional set not only because of its good state of conservation, but also because of the association of both elements, the mosque, and the rawda, known only through the Arab sources as until now there were only scarce material remains. The oratory is a quadrangular space of approximately 35m x 2m with the mihrab (also squared) open on the southeastern side. It featured two points of access - one located on the wall opposite the mihrab but displaced from its axis, and another on the *qibla* wall on the right of the niche. The centralized structure, whether quadrangular, square, or octagonal plant, is typical in palatine oratorios known in al-Andalus

(in the Aljafería of Saragossa, the Chapel of Bethlehem of Toledo or the palatine mosques of the Alhambra in Granada)²³⁵.



Murcia, remains of the mosque of the Alcázar of Murcia, under the church of San Juan de Dios. (Access arch to the mihrab)

²³⁵ **CALVO, Susana** (2011) *El arte de los reinos taifas: tradición y ruptura*. In: *Arte de Historia del Arte, Volumen Extraordinario (2)*, pp. 69-92. Citation on pp. 79-80

4.1.24 Abû amir el Salimî

Distinguished scholar and historian of Tortosa who lived in Murcia for a long time and died in about 559 (1163).

Works:

1. *Daisies of Necklaces and Glory of Utilities* it's the title of one of his historical-geographical works, written in rhymed prose that Aben Alabbar and other authors took advantage of. Aben Adhari took from this chronicle the description of the Norman invasion of 229 (843), passage reproduced by Dozy in his *Recherches*, 3rd edition, p. 255 of Volume II. Quotes Almak too. (I, 82) describing the mildness of our climate.

2. *Book on Organized Pearls and Sealed Bracelets*, where he says he gathered a vast amount of science and renovated the ruins and traces of past times.

He also wrote a work on medicine called *Healing or Remedy*; one on lexicography, qualified as beautiful by Aben Alabbar. Addabí speaks of a >Abû Amir Moh. b. Ahmed b. Amir the Xathibí (from Játiva), and says that he was a lexicographer, writer, traditionalist, grammarian who wrote many books on lexicography, literature, poetry, history, traditions, etc. without indicating the date of its blooming. As on one hand we find no mention of this illustrious setabense in any of the works of other biographers, which is very strange if you consider his vast illustration and the multitude of works he wrote, according to Addabi, and on the other hand agrees with the above as to the names of their genealogy, cunia and literary signification, it's very likely that both refer to the same person and therefore must be consolidated into a single biography of numbers 31 and 35 of Addabi²³⁶.

²³⁶ PONS BOIGUES, Francisco (1898) *Historiadores y geógrafos arabigo-españoles*. Madrid, N° 187, pp. 226-227

4.1.25 Men of science

Alfonso Carmona prepared a list of the men of science that lived in Levantine lands in the time of Ibn Mardanis (1147-1172). It is mostly about men of religious science, the ulemas²³⁷:

- 1. Muhammad b. Ziyâdat Allâh al-Taqaî, Abû ‘Abd Allâh, Ibn al-Hallâl**
- 2. Abû Ishâq Ibrâhîm b. Sâlih (39)**
- 3. Ziyâdat Allâh b. Muhammad al-Iaqafi, Abû l-Hasan, nm‘ al-Hallâl**
- 4. Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Fihri, Abû ‘Abd Allâh, Ibn Sayqal**
- 5. Abû l-‘Abbâs Ibn al-Hallâl (1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 19, 20, 21, 25, 27)**
- 6. Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. Saddâd al-Ma’âfirî, Abû ‘Abd Allâh**
- 7. Jalaf b. Muhammad b. Fathûn, Abû l-Qâsim (37)**
- 8. Abû ‘Abd Allâh al-Qastallî (20)**
- 9. Abû ‘Âmir al-Sâlimî (38)**
- 10. Abû Umayya Ibn al-Munabbih**
- 11. Nasr b. Idrîs al-Tuyîbî, Abû ‘Amr**
- 12. Abû Muhammad Ibn Zâganû**
- 13. Mâlik b. Himyar, Abû Bakr**

²³⁷ **CARMONA, Alfonso** (2000) *El saber y el poder: Ulemas levantinos de época de Ibn Mardanis*. In: Estudios Onomásticos-Biográficos de Al-Andalus (E.O.B.A.), Volume X. (María Luisa Ávila y Maribel Fierro, eds.). Biografías Almohades II. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid-Granada, pp. 57-130. Citation on pp. 58-59

14. Abû ‘Alî Ibn ‘Arîb (34, 37, 38)
15. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Hassân, Abû ‘Abd Allâh
16. Ahmad b. Tâbit, Abû Ya‘far
17. Abû l-‘Abbâs Ibn Idris (19, 38)
18. ‘Abd Allâh b. Mûsà b. Askûrna al-Azdî, Abû Muhammad, Ibn Burtuluh
19. Yahyà b. Baqî, Abû Bakr, al-Salâwî
20. Abû ‘Abd Allâh Muhammad b. Sulaymân b. Burtuluh (8)
21. Abû l-‘Abbâs Ibn al-Asfar (11, 40)
22. Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Salâm al-Murâdi, Abû ‘Abd Allâh
23. Abû ‘Abd Allâh Ibn Yûsuf b. Sa‘âda (20, 22, 25, 29, 37, 38, 39, 40)
24. Muhammad b. ‘Ubayd Allâh b. ‘Affân al-Gâfiqi, Abû Bakr
25. Abû Bakr Ibn Abî Laylâ (4, 38)
26. Muhammad b. Ibrâhim b. Jazar al-Hakami, Abû Bakr
27. Abû ‘Abd Allâh Ibn ‘Abd al-Rahîm, Ibn al-Faras (20, 26, 37, 38, 40)
28. ‘Abd al-Rahmân b. Muhammad b. Fierro (*Firruh*) al-Yudâmi, Abû Zayd
29. Abû Muhammad al-Miknâsî (37)
30. Abû Muhammad Ibn Sahl al-Darîr (38)
31. Jataya b. ‘Abd al-Rahmân al-Aslamî, Abû ‘Amr
32. Abû ‘Umar Ibn ‘Ayyâd (2, 3, 4, 7, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 30, 39)
33. Mas‘ûd al-Mukattib, Abû l-Jayyâr

34. Abû l-Qâsim Ibn Hubays (s, 1o, 16, 19, 2o, 27, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40)
35. Muhammad b. Mâlik al-Gâfiqî, al-Mûli, Abû ‘Abd Allâh
36. Abû ‘Abd Allâh Ibn Hamîd (2, 27)
37. Abû Muhammad Ibn Sufyân (l, 3, 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 20,21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31)
38. Muhammad b. ‘Ali al-Hamdâni, Abû l-Qâsim, Ibn al-Barrâiq (9)
39. Abû Bakr Ibn Abi Yamra (2, 7)
40. Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Tuhayyâ al-Tuyîbî

4.1.26 The castle of Blanca



The castle of Blanca

The castle of Negra (Blanca) was built between 1180 and 1210, as evidenced by Carbon-14 dating of different fragments of wood that appeared in the holes of the wall²³⁸. For archaeologists the building of the most robust part of the Castle of Blanca should have taken place in the Almohade domain between 1172 and 1228²³⁹.

²³⁸ **BAZZANA, André.** (2005) *El “hisn”, modelo de ocupación y puesta en valor de los territorios andalusíes (siglos IX-XIII)*. In: *Actas III Congreso Turístico Cultural del Valle de Ricote*. Ojós, 25 y 26 Nov. 2005, Abarán (Murcia), pp. 167-201, quoted on p. 193

²³⁹ **MEULEMEESER, Johnny de & EIROA RODRÍGUEZ, Jorge A.** (2005) *Primera campaña de excavaciones arqueológicas en el castillo de Blanca (Murcia)*. In: *XVI Jornadas de patrimonio histórico, Intervenciones en el patrimonio arquitectónico, arqueológico y etnográfico de la Región de Murcia*, Murcia, pp. 327-328

Before the construction of the castle in the Almohad period another system of defense had been built. It was in the form of an observation post and refuge by means of a tower located 45 meters from the castle²⁴⁰.

4.1.27 The castle of Pliego

The first witness of the village Pliego standing to this day is a tombstone found in the vicinity in 1980. According to the epigraphic study of the tombstone it should have been wrought in 1132²⁴¹.

The castle of Pliego²⁴² is situated at the top of a strategic place known as Cerro del Castillo, where cut and vertical slopes that form impregnable natural defenses abound. This hill dominates the current population of Pliego, the old fortified town of Mota,

MEULEMEESER, Johnny de & EIROA RODRÍGUEZ, Jorge A. (2006) *Segunda campaña de excavaciones arqueológicas en el castillo de Blanca*. In: *XVII Jornadas de Patrimonio Histórico. Intervenciones en le Patrimonio Arquitectónico, Arqueológico y etnográfico de la Región de Murcia*, Murcia, pp. 155-156

MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de (2006) *Le Valle de Ricote et le développement des recherches de la Région wallonne à l'étranger*. In: *Les cahiers de l'urbanisme, Horse-série Septembre, Mélanges d'archéologie médiévale. Liber amicorum en hommage à André Matthys*, pp. 46-55

LÓPEZ MORENO, Jesús Joaquín (2012) *Aproximación al espacio irrigado andalusí de Negra (Blanca, Valle de Ricote)*. In: *Actas II jornadas de Investigación sobre Abarán y el Valle de Ricote 20/27 abril, 2012*, pp. 55-100, cited on p. 58

²⁴⁰ **EIROA RODRÍGUEZ, Jorge A. & MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de** (2015) *Castillo Blanca*. In: *100 años de investigaciones Arqueológicas en la Universidad de Murcia*, p. 76

²⁴¹ **POZO MARTÍNEZ, I.** (1983) *El castillo de Pliego (Moratalla)*. In: *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana X*. Murcia, pp. 61-70

²⁴² **FREY SÁNCHEZ, A.V.; LÓPEZ PINA, M.; MORAN LAORDEN, S.; ROCAMORA MANTECA, A.** (2006) *Prospección del Castillo de Pliego (Moratalla, Murcia)*. *XVII Jornadas de Patrimonio de la Región de Murcia*, Murcia, pp. 229-230

called castle of Las Paleras, the bed of the river Pliego, and the road linking the valley of the river Mula to the plain of Guadalentin. The construction of the castle served as fortification of the Muslim kingdom of Murcia in that period (12th century).

4.1.28 Jumilla

Two thinkers born in Jumilla had some significance in the Andalucian cultural world, such as the historian Abu Abdallah Muhammad ben Abd Salam (1117-1169) and his son Abu Bakr Muhammad ben Abd Salam who died in 1211. Both were lawyers and known by the name of Yumalli, The Jumillano²⁴³. There was also a poet in *Giomala* (Gumalla, Jumilla) by the name of Mohamad Ben Abdelsalam Ben Jahia Almoradi without mentioning the exact year of his existence²⁴⁴.

4.1.29 Mohammad el Moradí

Pons Boigues gives us some more information about this character,²⁴⁵:

Ibn al-Abbar says, this Muslim was born in Chomalla, undoubtedly a wrong transcript of Chumilla (Jumilla), from the jurisdiction of Murcia, year 511. He notes the teachers he had in jurisprudence and literature; refers to having made his pilgrimage to Mecca in 528 and there having found a Dianan (from Denia) whom he adopted as a teacher; who returned to Spain, lived in Murcia, and *referred stories*

²⁴³ **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso** (1991) *Datos para la historia árabe de Jumilla*. In: Libro de las fiestas de Moros y Cristianos de Jumilla, Jumilla, p. 54

²⁴⁴ **TEJERA, José Pío & MONCADA, R.** de (1896) *Biblioteca del Murciano o Ensayo de un Diccionario Biográfico y Bibliográfico de la literatura en Murcia*. Tomo III, p. 4

CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso (1991) *Yakka, Gumalla, Bilyana*. In: Yakka. Revista de Estudios Yeclanos, 3, pp. 15-21

²⁴⁵ **PONS BOIGUES, Francisco** (1898) *Historiadores y geógrafos arabigo-españoles*. Madrid, p. 406

or told tales of traditions in her, he says he had beautiful handwriting and the ability to correct writings, adding that he died in 564 (1168).

4.1.30 Silk industry

At this time, Murcia was a very prosperous city, famous for its silk industry, the first in Europe²⁴⁶. Murcia was full of white mulberry trees thanks to the valley of the river Segura and its good climate. This permitted the breeding of the worm in ideal circumstances with results of an excellent quality of silk. Royal factories, called Dar al-Tiraz, were of course built not only in Egypt and Syria; they were all over the Islamic world. In Spain they were in Almeria, Murcia, Sevilla, Granada, and Malaga²⁴⁷. In Spain, Almeria, where 800 looms were working in Idrisi's time and valuable brocades, *siklatun* and silver were made in the style of those of *Djurdjan* and *Isfahan*, was the principal centre of manufacture, but Murcia, Seville, Granada and Malaga should also be mentioned²⁴⁸.

4.1.31 Monteagudo

Al-Qasr Ibn Sa'd, which Torres Balbás identified with El Castillejo de Monteagudo, was probably built between 1147 and 1165, i.e. during the reign of Ibn Mardanish (1147–1172). This ruined palace, also known as the Castillejo in the Vega of Murcia, was the immediate predecessor of the Court of the

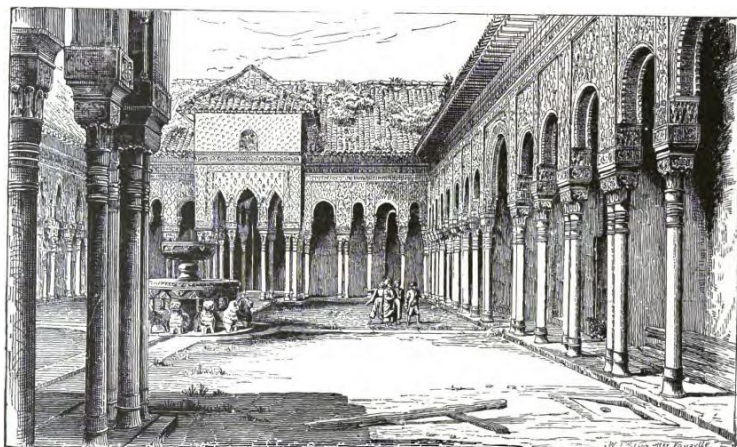
²⁴⁶ **WEIBEL, Adèle C.** (1935). Francisque-Michel's Contribution to the Terminology of Islamic Fabrics. In: *Ars Islamica*, Vol. 2, pp. 219-224. Citation on p. 223.

JACOBY, David (2004). Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West. In: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 58, ppl 197-240. Citation on p. 218.

²⁴⁷ **LABIB, Subhi Y.** (1969). Capitalism in Medieval Islam. In: *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 29, N° 1, pp. 79-96. Citation on p. 87

²⁴⁸ **HOUTSMA, M. Th.** (1936). E.J. Brill's first encyclopaedia of Islam, p. 790

Lions of Granada. The ruins of Al-Hisn al-Faradj [The Castle of Larache] are located 500m from El Castillo²⁴⁹.



The Court of the Lions in the Alhambra

4.1.32 Murcia

Recent excavations in the Convent of Santa Clara la Real revealed a cross-shaped garden built in the times of the Taifas formed by two wide paths with drains and a pavilion in the middle. Al-Qasr al-Saghir [The Minor Palace, Sp. Alcacer

²⁴⁹ **ALMAGRO, Antonio & Ramón-Laca, Luis** (2007)
Introduction to the Catalogue of Andalusian Gardens, pp. 1-13
(www.middleeastgarden.com)

TORRES BALBÁS, L. (1934) *Monteagudo y "El Castillo", en la Vega de Murcia*. In: *Al-Andalus*, 2, pp. 366-372

TORRES BALABAS, L. (1958) *Patios de crucero*. In: *Al-Andalus*, XXIII, 1, pp. 176-178.

NAVARRO PALAZÓN, Julio & JIMÉNEZ CASTILLO, Pedro (1992) *Aproximación al estudio del castillejo de Monteagudo y otros monumentos de su entorno*. In: *Memorias de Arqueología*, pp. 433-453

NAVARRO PALAZÓN, Julio & JIMÉNEZ CASTILLO, Pedro (1992) *Aproximación al estudio del castillejo de Monteagudo y otros monumentos de su entorno*. In: *Memorias de Arqueología*, pp. 433-453

Ceguir] was built on the ruins of Al-Dar al-Sugrà and later - probably in 1365 - transformed²⁵⁰.

4.1.33 Siyasa

Manuela Cortés also gives us a brief description of a ceramic plate found in Siyasa²⁵¹:

The conceptual and artistic beauty is evident in the Sgraffito ceramic plate of Cieza (Murcia, s. XII) which contains the figure of a Muslim lutenist with a lute of 4 double strings, iconography that we found in similar ceramics in the east during the Fatimid period in Egypt and people also reflected in Iraq and Syria, lutenist figures with an instrument that gave rise to the musical theory and is linked to the poetic song. Also the aesthetic shapes and the colour palette which appears in the mural painting known as the flutist of Murcia, a figure which according to textual sources adorned the dome with mocárabes of the reception hall of the Small Alcazar (*al-Qasr al-Sagîr*) of Ibn Mardanis, governor of Murcia and patron of the arts, place in which poets, musicians, dancers, and jugglers were called.

4.1.34 Abú-l-Hasán Ibn Nasr

Abú-l-Hasán Ibn Nasr was born in Guadix in the first half of the s. 12th century. He belonged to an aristocratic family of Guadix, the city where he resided and was emir until 546 AH / 1151AD when the population wanted to submit to the authority of Ibn Mardan, the Levantine king, who arrested Ibn Nizar in Murcia because of some verses which he uttered after being

²⁵⁰ **ALMAGRO, Antonio & Ramón-Laca, Luis** (2007) *Introduction to the Catalogue of Andalusian Gardens*, pp. 1-13 (www.middleeastgarden.com)

²⁵¹ **CORTÉS, Manuela** (2008) *Tratados Musicales andalusíes de la escuela Levantina y aportaciones al marco interdisciplinar* (ss. XI-XIII). In: Itamar. *Revista de investigación musical: territorios para el arte*. Univesidad de Valecia, pp. 159-182. Citation on p. 179

dethroned. He managed to free himself from captivity by sending one of his maids to the evenings organized by Ibn Mardan in order to sing his *muwassa*. This subject was the envy of the others seeing that he might enjoy his freedom, because after asking about the author of such verses Ibn Mardan ordered to release him and allow him to return to Guadix as counsellor of the Mardan governors there²⁵².

In those years Guadix was rounded by orchards and brooks. The inhabitants are endowed with the gift of poetry, and great love for the sciences; the poet Abú-l-hasán Ibn Nasr, "describing this city, gives the following verses in praise of its river:"

O Wádiu-l-eshit! my soul falls into ecstasies whenever I think of the favours the Almighty has lavished upon thee.

By God, thy shade at noon, when the rays of the sun are the hottest, is so fresh that those who walk on thy banks cannot stop to converse together.

The sun itself, seeking a remedy to its own ardour, directs its course through thy shadowy bed.

Thy current smiles through the prismatic bubbles of the waters like the skin of a variegated snake.

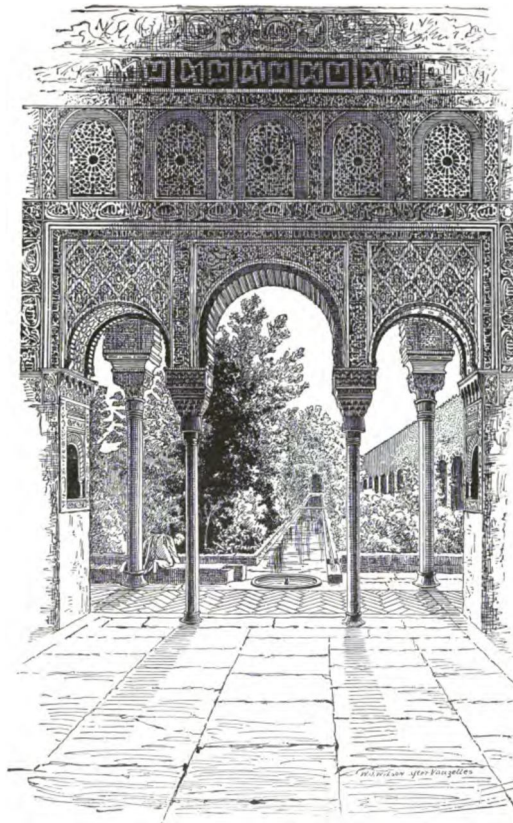
The trees that hang over thy soft inclined banks are so many steps to descend to thy bed, while their boughs covered with blossom, and devoured by burning thirst, are perpetually drinking of thy waters.

²⁵² **RAMÓN GUERRERO, A.** (1984) *Ibn al-Haddad (s. XI) y otros poetas árabes de Guadix (s. XIII)*, Granada, pp. 97-104

CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso (2006) *Ibn Nizar, Abu l-Hasan*, BA, 4 (Nº 919), pp. 338-339. Cited by

HAMMADI MEJDOUBI, Hanaa Mohamed (2012) *Ibn Sa'id al-Magribi. Al-Mugrib fi hulà al-Magrib. Lo extraordinario sobre las galas del Occidente islámico*. El reino de Elvira y el reino Málaga. Universidad de Córdoba. Departamento de traducción e interpretación, lenguas romances, estudios semíticos y documentación. Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. Tesis doctoral, p. 281

But this enchanting river is not the only gift which God has lavished upon that privileged land. The district of Guadix is besides famous for its pure and wholesome air, its sweet waters, the delicacy of its fruits and vegetables, the richness of its mines, and the great profusion of medicinal plants that grow in its soil²⁵³.



Court of the Generalife, Granada

²⁵³ Ibn Said, *Book of the Maghrib*, in Ahmed ibn Mohammed al-Makkari, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, translated by Pascual de Gayangos, (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1840), 1, p. 46.

4.1.35 Short biographies

Here you can find summarized biographies of these men, which are found in Arab authors²⁵⁴.

Abuabderráman Mosaid was the son of Ahmed, better known as Abenzama, native of Orihuela. After studying in Spain with notable jurists and traditionalists he went to the East where he studied the works of the most famous doctors and spent some time next to Abubéquer of Tortosa. When he came back to the city, some of the most illustrious men of the time, including Abulcásim Abenpascual, went to listen to him and to ask for ichaza or certificate of aptitude for teaching his doctrines. He died at Abenzama in 1150 or 1151.

Abulhásan Abderráman, son of Áhmed Abentáhir, a native of Murcia, distinguished traditionalist and magnate, father of the king Abentáhir was appointed to the death of Abenabicháfar in the unfortunate expedition against Granada and dismissed after approximately fifty days by his successor in command of Murcia and Valencia, Abeniyad.

Abulualid Yúsuf was the son of Abdelaziz, son of Yúsuf, son of Omar, son of Ferro Alajmí Abenaldabag. He was from Onda, but lived in Murcia and was disciple of Abualí Asadafi to whom he listened for a long time, as well as to other teachers. He distinguished himself as a traditionalist and collector of books and was preacher of the mosque for some time. He died in 1151 or 1152.

Abuabdála Mohámed was the son of Yusuf, son of Amira Alansari. He was from Orihuela; studied traditions with Abualí Asadafi, and other teachers in Koranic readings and jurisprudence, all of which he was really good at. He taught traditions in Orihuela and died there in 1154 or 1155.

Abuomaya Ibrahim was the son of Monbah or Monnabah, son of Omar, son of Áhmed Algafaquí. He was born in Almeria, but truly flourished in Murcia. After taking his first studies among the teachers in Spain, including those from Cordoba, he went on a pilgrimage to the East. Back to Spain he moved to Murcia where he was appointed

²⁵⁴ **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905). Historia de Murcia musulmana. Zaragoza.

as Qadi, preacher of the mosque, and consultant alfaquí. He died in 1160 or 1161.

Abulcásim Jalaf, son of Moháméd Abenfathun, jurist and traditionalist. Appointed as Qadi of Murcia by king Abeniyad he later marched as ambassador to the court of Morocco and when he returned from his mission in 1148 or 1149, Abeniyad had been killed. He was then sent as Qadi to Orihuela, a position he apparently had earlier from 1144 to 1146, and remained in that city until his death in 1161 or 1162 with great feeling of people and Abenmardenix, who esteemed and distinguished him a lot among his servants. He was appointed as Qadi to succeed Abulabas Abenalhillel, and was replaced by Abubéquer Abenabichomra.

Abucháfar Áhmed was the son of Abdelchalib, from Todmir. After taking his first studies in Murcia he moved to Almeria and from there to Morocco to serve the Almoravids, whose emir appointed him as tutor to his children. He was an excellent grammarian and among other compositions his work is cited as some comments to the work of Azachachí. The illustrious grammarian died in 1160 or 1161.

Abalabas Áhmed was the son of Mohammed, more commonly known as Abenalhillel, from an illustrious family of Murcia. Appointed as general Qadi of the kingdom by Abenmardenix he was accused of wrongdoing in office and sentenced to prison in Onda where he died in 1159 or 1160.

Abulhásan Zeyadála was the son of Moháméd Abenalhillel, brother of the one mentioned before, who sent him as Qadi of Valencia. He died as Qadi in Murcia a few years before his brother.

Abuabdála Moháméd the Casteli, a native of Murcia and disciple of king Abenabicháfar in regards to law. The Murcians and Abenmardenix apparently earnestly wanted to have someone of their side to be appointed as general Qadi, replacing the accused and imprisoned Abenalhillel, so they were able to sentence him. Casteli refused to accept the position, causing the emir great anger because of his stubborn resignation. He died in 1162 or 1163.

Abenalhillel Moháméd was the son of Zeyadála, father of both the General Qadi and the Qadi of Valencia, who had the same name Abenalhillel. He is remembered as an illustrious man for his knowledge and virtue, and died in Murcia, his city, in 1151 or 1152.

Abuabdála Moháméd, son of Áhmed Abensical, a native of Murcia; was nicknamed the Spaniard Abuhoreira (name of one of Mahoma's companions) because of his vast knowledge of traditions. He wrote a lot about stories, words, and deeds of Mahoma all of which was later seized by Abubéquer Abensofyan, and died in Murcia in 1155 or 1156.

Abuabdála Moháméd was the son of Abdelaziz Abenxadad, born in Jódar, Jaen province. He moved to Murcia once the uprising against the Almoravids started, and the Qadi Abalabas Abenalhillel entrusted appointed him as Qadi of Denia. He died in Murcia in 1160 or 1161.

Abuabdála Mohamed Abenmaxud Alansarí was the son of the traditionalist, Saf. He was born in Orihuela and appointed as Qadi of the city succeeding Abulcásini Abenfathun during Abenmardenix's reign. He died in 1157 or 1158.

Abubéquer Moháméd was the son of Áhmed Abenalyatim, born in Murcia, and teacher of Abensofyan, who complimented him as an eloquent man and remarkable writer.

Abenmeruan Abdelmélíc was the son of Abubéquer Abenalarao. He was a native of Lorca, where he taught Koranic exegesis and was well received for the time that history has been made. Abubéquer Moháméd was the son of Áhmed Abensofyan. He was born in Alicante, but lived in Tlemcen where he taught jurisprudence in 1161 or 1162.

Abumoháméd Abdála was known as Quirbilyaní, from Murcia and a disciple of the Faqīh Abenalchazar, whom he replaced and succeeded in teaching law. He also taught language and was the teacher of Abensofyan. He died in 1160 or 1161.

Abumoháméd Abdála was the son of Ismail Abencaira (?), native of Elche, and Qadi of this city. He died in 1163 or 1164.

Abumoháméd Abdála was the son of Moháméd Abenzagan, native of Lorca where he served as Qadi. He was a remarkable jurist, a disciple of Abualí Asadaft and other famous masters of his time, and died in 1164 or 1165.

Abubéquer Málic was the son of Himyar, writer, and poet. He was born in Orihuela where he died in 1165 or 1166. Abensofyan

mentions him, and Abuomar Abeniyad quotes some of the following verses as his:

"I undertake my journey without viaticum and without any preparation for the pilgrimage. However, I trust the excellence of my Lord that satisfies the poor with his divine generosity".

Abubéquer Yahya was the son of Baquí, Abenassalamí, poet, and doctor of the court of Abenmardenix. It seems that removed from his position he devoted himself to visiting all kinds of patients for free. He died in 1167 or 1168.

Abulabas Ahmed was the son of Abderráman, son of Isa, from Murcia, jurist and traditionalist. He served as zavalauquem (judge in criminal matters), was later appointed as Qadi of Játiva and then in Murcia. He died in 1167 or 1168.

Abualí Hosain was the son of Muhammad, Abenarif, the reader, native of Tortosa, and a promising disciple of Abuali Asadafi. He taught Koran in Almeria and was preacher and president of prayer in the mosque until 1145 or 1146, when that city was already in danger of falling and ending as possession of the Christians, he moved to Murcia where he continued the Koranic teachings and was also preacher of the mosque. He died in 1167 or 1168.

Abuabdála Mohámed was the son of Soláiman, son of Muza, Abenbartolo, son of the aforementioned Qadi with the same nickname. He was a disciple of Abuabdála the Casteli and was associated with Qadi Abulabas Abenahillel. He became a remarkable jurist and skilled debater and died young in his hometown Murcia in 1167 or 1168.

Abuabdála Mohámed was the son of Abdesalem, of Jumilla where he was born. After studying law and humanities in Murcia he marched to the east and heard in Mecca to the Faqīh Abuabdála, son of Said, of Denia and other teachers. He returned to Spain and taught history and tradition in Murcia until his death in 1168 or 1169.

Abulabas Áhmed was the son of Abdelaziz Abenalasfar. He was part of the council of Murcia, served as Qadi of Játiva and Orihuela, and was teacher of jurisprudence. He died in 1168 or 1169.

Abuadála Mohámed was the son of Yúsuf Abensada, a Murcian. He was born in Valencia, but educated in Murcia. He served as part of the city council and then as Qadi after the Almoravids' domination. He was later transferred to the same position in Játiva where he lived and taught all he knew, which was a lot, acquired on his travels to the capitals of Spain and the East. He joined forces in kinship affinity with Abualí Asadafi, the great Zaragozan master, inherited his numerous books in originals or drafts, and left written a single work, although very celebrated, entitled "Quitab xachara aluahm almotara quiya ila dorua alfahm" (book about the hypothesis or opinion, which is gradually rising to the top of intelligence). This illustrious Murcian died in Játiva in 1169 or 1170.

Mohámed was the son of Abderrehim Alansarí, Abenalfaras, and a native of Granada. He distinguished himself as a traditionalist, theologian, and jurist, was chairman of Murcia, and then served as Qadi of Valencia, from where he was fired after the revolt of Abenxilban. He died in 1169 or 1170.

Abuáhmed Mohámed was the son of Áhmed Abenmoat, native of Orihuela. After doing Quranic studies in Spain he went to the East to complete his education and upon returning to his hometown devoted himself to teaching the Koran and was president of the prayer of the mosque next to the bridge. Abubéquer Mohammed was the son of Obaidála Abenafan. He was born in Murcia, but lived in Alhama. He was a lawyer, philosopher, polemicist, and highly educated in literature, genealogies, and other subjects. He died in 1170 or 1171.

Abulhásan Alí was the son of Mohámed, of Persian origin, and born in Cordoba. When the uprising against the Almoravids began, he emigrated from Cordoba where he already stood out as one of the most distinguished men because of his knowledge, and settled in Elche, becoming preacher of its mosque. It seems that he was somehow involved in the city's rebellion against the emir Abeninardenix, so he was killed after leaving and fleeing because of the emir's vengeance in 1171.

Abubéquer Abderráman was the son of Áhmed, son of Ibrahim, son of Mohámed, son of Abulaila, Alansarí. He was born in Granada and lived in Murcia. One of the most intimate and constant disciples of Abualí Asadafi, he preserved his traditions and stories the most. He went to the East fulfilling the commandment of pilgrimage there and listened to other teachers. After returning to Spain he dedicated

himself to the devout life. People ran to him eager to hear his explanations. He died in 1171 or 1172.

Abumoháméd Axir was the son of Moháméd Abenhacam Alansarí, native of Iniesta (?), Province of Cuenca, and resident of Játiva. He lived in Cordoba for some time until he was appointed chairman of Valencia. Then he was appointed Qadi of Murcia under the command of the Almoravids, and after they were kicked out of the city he was honourably removed from the position. He then moved to Játiva where he ended his days dedicated to teaching and writing about jurisprudence. He died in 1171 or 1172.

Abenalbarrac was a native of Guadix, a medical and court poet of Abenmardenix who made him go from Guadix to Murcia. He remained in Murcia until he returned to Guadix after the death of his mother in 1171 or 1172.

Abubéquer Yahya, son of Alchalil, more commonly known as Abenmochebir, was a close friend of Abenmardenix and poet who wrote more than 9,400 verses.

Another poet from the court of Abenmardenix was Abumoháméd Abdála, son of Salfin, from Játiva, who among other compositions wrote brilliant poetry extolling the bravery and strength of Abenmardenix.

5 1172-1228 ALMOHAD DOMAIN

5.1 1172-1184 Abu Yaqub Yusuf

The death of Muhammad Ibn Mardanish came on March 8, 1272 and with it the onset of a political change in Murcia. Its qadis and sheikhs rushed to recognize the Amir al-Mu'minin and saw in their son Hilal as the bearer of his obedience and his rush of embracing the "tawhid" with the community.

Abu Hafs 'Umar rushed to Murcia with the army of the Almohads to take control of the city. He entered the city, calmed the inhabitants, promised them goods and suppressed evil, assured their lives, and washed their clothes of crimes and ended with their filth.

Once established in Murcia Abu Hafs, Hilal b. Mardanish hastened to present himself to the caliph. He arrived in Sevilla on April 27, 1172 with all his brothers and his father's followers, the qadis and the important military people of the border. The amir al-Mu'minin sent his brother and also another brother with all the sons of the sheikhs of the Yama'a of the Almohads to an encounter some miles from Sevilla. The delegation of Murcia with him entered the old castle at the reception of the caliph close to the evening prayer.

When the caliph Amir al-Mu'minin sat down in his elevated and noble throne, the visir Abu-l-'Alà Idris b. Yami' ordered them to go in and introduce themselves before him. They entered and greeted him with a general salute. Then they offered tribute to him, one after another, preceded by their sheikh Abu 'Utman Sa'id b. 'Isa, chief of the soldiers and lord of the border, and compromised obedience and entered the Almohad community. The caliph Abu Ya'qub greeted and recognized him in the presence of all the Sayyides. When they completed his recognition and rested after the ceremony, they begged the caliph to make an expedition against their neighbours from the Christian country and let him see that the

town of Huete was the easiest in the country to conquer because it was newly built and next to the supplies. They told him that its walls were not defended and it did not have a gate or guards at the entrance. After giving a speech and congratulating his Majesty as was due, The qadi Abu Musa 'Isa b. 'Imran said: Oh our Lord, Amir al-mu'minin! This night two new moons have risen above us - one of the month of Ramadan and this Hilal, who has been submitted. Hilal b. Muhammad stayed the eve of that day in the castle of Ibn 'Abbad Mu'tamid, and his partners stayed in the nearby houses and were given beds and tapestries and foods and gifts and drinks and everything necessary, and understood that they were the closest and the friendliest, and that the caliph reign and *imami* power welcomed them²⁵⁵.

Scarce is the news that we have on Murcia when it was under control of the Almohads. Reduced to a mere province of its vast empire, as had previously been the Almoravide, it lost to history its individual character, which it would not recover until the famous Ibn Hud was proclaimed there, who chose it as court of his state, getting to be the most powerful of the kings of Murcia. When talking about this time, known Arab authors cater primarily to the general history of the Peninsula, and even consider it as an integral part of the general empire of the Almohads, of which the capital was Morocco. Only then, by incidence, one fixes the events and characters that had a general influence in that empire from Murcia, and these are the ones we will talk about.

Murcia and Valencia subjected to the sons of Ibn Mardanish ruling the Almohads, as narrated, it seems that the second of these capitals ended up being ruled by Abulhachach Yúsuf, brother of Ibn Mardanish, for some years, perhaps even until his death in 1186. Murcia became the capital of one of several

²⁵⁵ **IBN SAHIB AL-SALA** (1969) *Al-Mann bil-Imama*, ed. HUICI MIRANDA, Ambrosio, Valencia, pp. 192-195

governments in which the Almohads divided the Muslim Spain entrusting its management to the princes of the dynasty, called the sides or lords.

It has been said in the appropriate place that once hearing from the prince Abuhafs, brother of emir Abû Yacub, that the sons of Ibn Mardanish had surrendered, he immediately went to Murcia so that he could take over the city. But he had to remain there for a short time; because in the next few years he is seen managing expeditions against the Christians of Castile and Portugal from Seville until he was killed in one of such expeditions in 1179 or 1180. The sons of the dead prince returned to Morocco and appeared before the emir informing him of the advantages gained by Christians and the damage that they were causing in the part of the Peninsula subjected to Muslims. Emir Abu Yacub had left Seville and returned to Morocco, its capital, as was exposed in 1175. The alarming news which he heard from the sons of Prince Abuhafs about the state of Spain made him decide to go back with strength to undertake a vigorous campaign and oppose the advance of Christians.

But he could not make his wish come true back then. Another no less serious matter held him in Africa; that the important city of Cafsa remained rebelling against his authority, recognized Ali, son of Alazz, as prince from the time of his father Abdelmúmen. Abuyacub had to go in person to lay siege to that city and after submitting and dethroning its king he returned to Morocco. Arab authors say that once the happy return of emir Abuyacub to its capital after his campaign against the rebels in Gafsa was known in Spain, some Spanish commissions marched there to congratulate him. Such commissions had many Muslim magnates, presided by the brother of emir Abu Ishaq, governor of Seville, and his nephew Abuabderráman Yacub, son of Abderráman, son of Abdelmúmen, governor of Murcia. It seems most likely that this was the first Almohad

governor of the Murcia region and that he also continued to rule it for some time after his return from Morocco since the same authors claim that once finished the object of his trip, the commissioners of Spain returned to their respective positions.

The fears expressed to the emir by the sons of prince Abuhafs, dead, as has been stated, in 1179 or 1180 in one of the repeated clashes between almohads and Christians, were not unfounded. Alfonso Enríquez from Portugal and Alfonso VIII were spreading their domains and performing daring expeditions into the heart of Muslim Spain back then, and news received by the emir about the fate of the war of 1182 and 1183 was getting more alarming and fatal to his cause. Although the courageous commander Mohamed, son of Yacub, had done an incursion by land from Portugal, laid siege to Evora with Sevillian troops, and took some castles, he had to return unable to seize the square, which was the aim of his campaign, and this despite the fact that the admiral of the fleet of Seville had contributed to the campaign and achieved a huge triumph over Portugal seizing twenty enemy ships. For Alfonso VIII the danger was even greater. This industrious king had come to besiege Córdoba and Écija and made repeated incursions into the regions of Malaga, Ronda, and Granada, winning the *Santa Jilva* castle, in which he ended up living, when he left a strong detachment of his troops.

The governor of Seville Abu Ishaq, having asked the other governors for reinforcements, had spent forty days besieging the aforementioned castle in vain. Knowing that Alfonso VIII was coming with his army in defence of the besieged, the Almohades had to withdraw. As we can see, they were reduced in numbers and generally on the defensive, and if they ever penetrated enemy territory, it was to collect some loot and rapidly increase their capital. Such was the trip made by Mohamed, son of Yusuf Abenuanudin, against Talavera, described as bold by Muslims themselves, that seventy years

later a single Muslim had not gotten there; It was reduced to loot and kill defenceless people and get back to Seville quickly. The Murcia region should not have been free of raids and attacks made by Christians at that time, because in 1183 or 1184, precisely when in view of the serious news received from Spain Abuyacub made his firm decision to go there to lead an offensive campaign against Christians, his brother Abusaid, son of Abdelmúmen, got to the court, he, who had occupied the government of Murcia replacing Abuabderráman Yacub and many other Murcian characters. This commission, it seems, was one of many that left towards Spain in those years to inform the emirs of the danger they were in because of the Christians. But without specifying the reason the Arab author states that emir Abuyacub, informed of the conduct of his brother, refused to meet him alone and brought him in confusion among the other characters who formed the commission.

Abuyacub would not be very satisfied with the behaviour of the governor of Murcia, Abusaid, and the other Spanish provinces, because at that time and if preparing the circumstances and means for its planned campaign on the Peninsula, he sends an order to his four sons to take care of the following governments: Murcia, Abuabdála, replacing his uncle Abusaid; Cordoba, Abuyahya, at the request and on advice of the Cadi of that city, Abulualid Abenroxd (the famous philosopher and physician Averroes); Granada, a third son named Abusaid, and Seville was confirmed having the brother of the emir, Abu Ishaq. Without wasting time he imperiously entrusted all of them to gather the biggest contingent of troops they could in their respective districts to fight the holy war that would take place soon, and take them to Seville where he would meet with them. Meanwhile Abuyacub ordered his sons to gather troops and refocus in Seville, made great preparations in Africa gathering men and war machines, and after sending some troops ahead, passed from Ceuta to Gibraltar and then went to Seville where he joined the contingents of the districts of Spain.

The previous list of Arab authors was confirmed by the Portuguese Gronicon when he says that *Yuceph Abenjacob Emir Elmumino, secundus imperator Sarracenorum filius of Ali Abelmuinen*, after having subjugated the Empire of Morocco and the entire Kingdom of “Aquende the Sea”, formerly belonging to the Wolf King (Ibn Mardanish), that is: Valencia, Murcia, Granada, and other cities, decided to go to the Peninsula with the determined purpose of recovering the cities of Lisbon, Cintra, Santarém, Évora, Alcozer, and all the other castles of Lusitania, and then go through the ribera del Duero until getting to Toledo; he made, to the effect, extensive preparations across the sea, wrote to his sons who were in “Aquende the Straight”, that is: Abozach (Abu Ishaq) *who was king of Sibillioe, Abdaen Abuialne* (Abtu Yahya) *who was king of Cordoba, Abderrhama Abuzeida* (Abusaid) *king of Granata and Gamu* (Abuabdala) *king of Murcia and Valencia*, ordering them to be prepared for the campaign, and to go to Seville as soon as he'd get there, telling them a fixed time in which he would be in the aforementioned capital.

Once his forces were gathered again in Seville, Abuyacub advanced to besiege Santaren where he was mortally wounded, completely failing the objective of the campaign. Whether it was because of a false maneuver made by most of his army or by betrayal or both, the fact is that, according to the most common opinion, the emir found himself abandoned by the biggest part of his troops, and Christians, aware of this, rushed out of the square, attacked him and those around, and he was hurt so seriously that he died a few days later. When warned about the danger their emir was facing, some of the troops that retreated went back to save him, but it was too late; they only managed to repel Christians, and even this cost them, because the same Arab authors admit that many of their people were martyred. Among other incidents listed as causes of the breakdown of the expedition made by Abuyacub against Christians in Portugal and Castile, it is noted especially that the

troops of Murcia, in one of the days of the siege made to Santaren, suffered a harsh setback. Having left their camp looking to attack the plain inhabited by Christians, they were attacked and got in a hard-fought battle which the Murcians lost and were chased until being close to their position, losing fifty mules who were left to forage. The siege of Santaren and the death of Abuyacub had to occur in June or July of 1184. It seems most likely that Abuyacub died on the way from Santaren to Seville, because Arab authors claim that his son was recognized as emir by commanders and the other princes, so that the army would not be left without a leader having the enemy so close, and that he was proclaimed solemnly²⁵⁶ once arriving at Sevilla.

Here ends the story told by Mariano Gaspar Remiro, but we have another story. In this case the story told by Pascual de Gayangos who translated Ibn Mohammed Al-Makkari:

«Abu Ya‘qub Yusuf or Yusuf I; 1135 – 14 October 1184) was the second Almohad *Amir* or caliph. He reigned from 1163 until 1184 in Marrakech. He had the Giralda in Seville built as well as Koutoubia in Marrakech and Hassan Tower in Rabat.

Yusuf was the son of Abd al-Mu‘min, the first caliph of the Almohad dynasty. Originally hailing from North Africa, Yusuf and his bloodline were descended from the Zenata Berbers. Like a number of Almohad rulers, Yusuf favored the Zairite or literalist school of Muslim jurisprudence and was a religious scholar in his own right. He was said to have memorized Sahih Bukhari and Sahih Muslim, two collections of the prophet Muhammad’s statements considered canonical in Sunni Islam, by heart, and was a patron of the theologians of his era.

²⁵⁶ **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*. Zaragoza: Tip. de Andrés Uriarte, p. 239-245

Respected men of letters such as Ibn Rushd and Ibn Tufayl were entertained at his court. Yusuf favored Cordoban polymath Ibn Maḍā' as his chief judge; during the Almohad reforms, the two oversaw the banning of any religious material written by non-Zahirites. Yusuf's son al-Mansur would eventually take the reforms even further, actually burning non-Zahirite books instead of merely banning them. In 1170 he invaded Iberia, conquering al-Andalus and ravaging Valencia and Catalonia. The following year he established himself in Seville. He ordered the construction of numerous buildings, such as the Alcazar, the Buhaira palace and the fortress of Alcalá de Guadaíra. Abu Ya'qub Yusuf was defeated by Afonso I of Portugal at the Siege of Santarém (1184), in which he died, his body was sent from Seville to Tinnel where he was buried.

Abú Ya'kub directed his attention towards Spain, where the conquests of Alphonso VIII of Castile, as well as the rebellion of Ibn Mardanish, who acted in concert with the Christians, threatened ruin to the empire of the almohades. Having collected a large force, Abú Ya'kub gave the command to his brother Abu Hafss, who landed in Spain, defeated Ibn Mardanish A.H. 567 (A.D. 1171), Abu Ya'kub in person crossed over to Spain. After spending some time in Cordova and Seville he marched to Ubeda, which he besieged; but the place being very strong he was unable to reduce it, and he returned to Seville, where he laid the foundation of the great mosque on the site of which the present cathedral stands, and began other works of public utility. In the mean time, his brother Abu Hafss prosecuted the war against the rebel Ibn Mardanish, who, with the assistance of the Christians, still maintained himself in Murcia. At last, seeing the siege protracted, and having no hopes of succour, the Almoravide chieftain made a sally, and forcing a passage through the ranks of the besiegers, whom he found unprepared, effected his

escape. He died soon after in Rejeb, A.H. 567 (March, A. D. 1172)²⁵⁷.»

On the death of Ibn Mardanish, his sons and relatives presented themselves to the Commander of the Faithful, Yûsuf, then residing at Seville, placed themselves under his rule, and delivered the whole of their dominions into his hands. Yûsuf received the princes kindly, married them to his own daughters, and raised them to a station higher even than that which they occupied before²⁵⁸.

In this respect Ibn Abi Zar informs us that in 570 (2nd August of 1174 to 21st August 1175) the prince of the believers, Yûsuf, married the daughter of Muhammad b. Sa'd b. Mardanish and magnificent feasts were held²⁵⁹.

5.1.1 Murcia

Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn al-Adib al-Tuyibi al-Mursi (1145-1213) wrote a work about 130 persons and composed a dictionary (*Mu'yam*) with their biographies. Years later, in 1242, Ibn al-Abbar saw this dictionary in Tunisia. Galbun Ibn Fathun, Abu Muhammad al-Muqri' al-Ansari (Murcia, 1151-Murcia 1216) had an important library and wrote a book about Murcia. He studied with Ibn Hubays

²⁵⁷ **VARIOUS** (1842). The Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of useful knowledge, Volume I, London, p. 212

²⁵⁸ **IBN MOHAMMED AL-MAKKARÍ**, Ahmed (1843). The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain: extracted from the *Nafhu-t-tib min ghosni-l-Andalusi-r-Rattib wa Tárikh Lisánu-d-Dín Ibni-l-khattib* / by Ahmed Ibn Mohammed Al-Mallari; traslated from the copies in the Library of the British Museum and illustrated with critical notes on the History, Geographi and antiquities of Spain by Pascual de Gayangos. Volume II, pp. 318-319.

²⁵⁹ **IBN ABI ZAR** (1964) *Rawd al-qirtas*. Translated and annotated by Ambrosio Huici Miranda, Vol. 2, Valencia, p. 419

and others. On the other hand he was a good transmitter and very pious. He informed Ibn al-Abbar about the biographies of many learned men of Murcia. His father was Jalaf b. Muhammad, Ibn Fathun, Abu l-Qasim (Orihuela, 1102-1162)²⁶⁰.

On previous pages we have dealt with Ibn Sa'ada (d. 1170). The Abu 'Ali al-Sadafi died in the battle of Cutanda in 1120 all his books went to his brother-in-law, the Murcian Ibn Sa'ada. Another person who had a library was the Murcian Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Galbun al-Ansari (d. 1252). He had a library full of old books and beautiful notebooks. Due to his madness most of his books were sold and he was not aware of that. Finally there was another Muslim by the name of Ibn Faras of Granada who spent his last days in Murcia. He was the owner of an inestimable library from which some of the books he copied. Two calligraphers were known in those years: the Murcian 'Ali b. Muhammad b. Daysam and Ibn Hamanal²⁶¹.

5.1.2 Ibn Galib

Ibn Galib Al-Ansari Muhammad (d. 1175), also known as Ibn Hamama (Granada, the 12th century), was a geographer and historian of Grenadian origin according to his gentile (nisba). He was the author of a work of great importance for the history and geography, and wrote the following about Murcia:

²⁶⁰ **AGUILAR, Victoria** (2016) *Identidad y vida intelectual en la Murcia de Ibn Mardanis*. In: Política, sociedad e identidades en el Occidente islámico (siglos XI-XIV), pp. 13-43, citation on pp. 15 and 36

²⁶¹ **AGUILAR, Victoria** (1995) *Biblioteca de la Cora de Tudmir*. In: I Jornada de biblioteca y centro de documentación sobre mundo árabe e Islam. Centro de Estudios Árabes y Arqueológicos Ibn Arabi. Ayuntamiento de Murcia, pp. 37-49

Its land [of Tudmir] was well watered and irrigated with water from the river, just as the Nile waters, but does not flood, the land of Misr²⁶².

Conde²⁶³ mentions Abu Adala Muhamad as King of Murcia in 1174 (h. 569).

5.1.3 The baker and poet al-Khabbaz (Habbaz)

We do not know in which century the baker Ábu al-Walid Yunus ibn ‘Isa al-Khabbaz al-Mursi lived. We only know that he originated from Murcia. He was a poet of Kharja.

Anne Klinck mentions that “In two *muwashshahas* expressing love for a young girl. The Ibn Labbun version introduces the kharja via the poet’s sympathy for a girl who has been badly treated by her lover. The al-Khabbaz says that the kharja is uttered by a “girl of thirteen”; she resembles, but is perhaps not to be identified with, the “Slave gazelle” whose charms have overwhelmed the poet.”

Ya mamma, mio al-habibi bay-she e no me tornade.

Oh mother, my lover is going and won’t come back.

Gar ke fareyo ya mamma in no mio ‘ina’ leshade.

Tell me what to do, mother, if my suffering won’t abate²⁶⁴.

²⁶² L. 'Abdalbadi', "Qit'a min Kitiib Farhat al-anfus li-bn Galib", in *Revue de l'Institut des mss. arabes*, I-1 (1955), p. 284-5. Cited by:

CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso (1996) *Murcia en los geógrafos árabes*. Comunidad Autónoma Universidad de Murcia, proyecto (PSH95/92). See:

<http://asociacionsierradesegura.blogspot.com.es/2013/01/anales-ii-quince-textos-arabes.html>

²⁶³ **CONDE, José Antonio** (1820) *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en España*, Volume II. (on the first pages)

²⁶⁴ **KLINCK, Anne L.** (2004). *Anthology of ancient and medieval woman’s song*, New York, pp. 59-60

Alan Jones even wrote a book about Romance *kharjas* in Andalusian Arabic *muwashshah* poetry²⁶⁵. He deals with 24 poets, among them al-Khabbaz, who wrote between ca. 756 and 1363.

Al-Khabbāz is described in *Jaysh al-Tawshshīh*, one of the most authoritative anthologies of the *muwashshah* form, as a poet of “pure composition”.

You who left and passed
If only I owned my patience

I kept my love from you,
while you pretended not to know though you know

Love is impossible to hide
and difficult for those who seek it

Can you consider how the blame
I get for loving you never ends

Though what has one lost in love
done wrong to be blamed

I swore to god that I would fast
one month and ten days

Maybe I'll be granted to see you my love
close to my chest, in front of my eyes²⁶⁶

²⁶⁵ JONES, Alan (1988) *Romance kharjas in Andalusian Arabic Muwashshah Poetry: a Palaeographical Analysis* by Alan Jones. 1st ed. London: Ithaca Press for the Board of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, Oxford University

²⁶⁶ Translation and reading by Ahmad Almallah. See:
<http://albustanseeds.org/digital/wordsadorned/composers-selection-of-poetry/poem-by-al-khabbaz/>

The *kharjas* were and continue to be essential to scholarly recognition of the transcendental importance of Mozarabic traditional poetry between the 11th and 14th century. It is worth recalling at this point that about ninety-five per cent of the surviving corpus of *kharjas* in Arabic *muwashshah* is indisputably Arabic²⁶⁷ and a lot has been written about it²⁶⁸.

The *muwashshaha* is an Arabic verse form which in all probability was invented on the Iberian Peninsula at some time during the tenth century. The Arabic use was of the classical literary variety and the subject matter normally conformed to that of the ode, which was the vehicle for Classical Arabic poetry up to that time. The *muwashshaha*, however, differed from the ode in that it was strophic, and the final stanza tended to include words drawn from the colloquial idiom. The adoption of an Arabic verse which was not strictly classical, if only for a very small percentage of the poem, as a whole, represented a break from the traditional practice. It has recently been computed that approximately six hundred Arabic *muwashshaha* composed by a limited number of named Andalusí poets have survived.

Several authors²⁶⁹ have written about al Khabbaz (al-Habbaz) whose date of birth and death we do not know. Emilio Casares

²⁶⁷ **HITCHCOCK, Richard** (1980) *The "Kharjas" as Early Romance Lyrics: A Review*. In: *The Modern Language Review*, Vol. 75, Nº 3, pp. 481-491

²⁶⁸ **CANTARINO, Vincent** (1969) *Lyrical Traditions in Andalusian Muwashshahas*. In: *Comparative Literature*, Vol. 21, Nº 3, pp. 213-231

FISH COMPTON, Linda (1976) *Andalusian Lyrical Poetry and Old Spanish Love Songs: The Muwashshah and its Kharja*, New York: New York University Press

ARMISTEAD, Samuel G. (2003) *Kharjas and Villancicos*. In: *Journal of Arabic Literature*, Vol. 34, Nº 1-2. *The Arabic Literature of Al-Andalus*, pp. 3-19

MALLETTE, Karla (2003) *Misunderstood*. In: *New Literary History*, Vol. 34, Nº 4, pp. 677-697

²⁶⁹ **SOLA SOLÉ, J.M.** (1973) *Corpus de poesia mozárabe*. Barcelona: Hispam, pp. 98-101; poem 7b

Rodicio states that al-Habbâz lived around 1110, but he does not give references²⁷⁰. He seems to lean toward the 12th century as stated by other authors²⁷¹.

<p><i>"Man li bidabyin rabibi"</i></p> <p>0</p> <p><i>Quién me ayuda contra un ciervo que a los leones combate, y no me paga mi deuda cuando espero que la pague?</i></p> <p>1</p> <p>Siempre estoy, por obtenerla entre esperanzas y deseo, y, por mucho que se enfade, no por eso desespero. Antes grito: "Alma, no tengas sobre ella un mal pensamiento" y al pecho le digo: "Sufre", y a quien siempre cumple tarde: "Haz lo que quieras, que nunca airado estoy con lo que haces".</p> <p>2</p> <p>Tú que desdeñas, injusta, a quien aguante no acorre, no importa que me consuma, con tal que no me abandones. Muerto estoy, cuando quien mira Con unos ojos gachones y prepara aguos dardos desde esos arcos fatales, dispara contra mi pecho saetas que son mortales.</p>	<p><i>Whom will help me against a deer that lions it fights, and does not pay me my debt when do I expect he pays it?</i></p> <p>1</p> <p>I always about, to obtain it between hopes and desire, and, despite his anger, not for that I despair. Before I scream: "Soul, do not have on her a bad thought" and to the chest I tell him: "Suffer", and to whom is always late: "Do what you want, never I am angry with what you do."</p> <p>2</p> <p>You who despise, unjust, to whom holds does not come, no matter if it consumes me, as long as you do not abandon me. Dead I am, when he who looks With gracious eyes and prepares drenched darts from those fatal arcs, shoots against my chest arrows that are deadly.</p>
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²⁷⁰ CASARES RODICIO, Emilio (1980) Cristóbal Halffter. Departamento de Arte-Musicología. Publicaciones de la Universidad de Oviedo, p. 222

²⁷¹ CABANELAS, Dario & TORRES, María Paz (1984) *Poesía árabe andaluza*. In: Litoral, Números 139-141, pp. 60-61

<p>3</p> <p>Mi corazón ¿qué te ha hecho, que sus penas no se acaban? Te eleva quejas de amores y no le sirven de nada. ¡Piedad! Mi vida y mi muerte entre tus manos se hallan. <i>¡Tú que, al par, curas y enfermas!</i> <i>Puedes quitarme mis males</i> <i>Me derrito por quererte.</i> <i>¡Haz de mí cuanto te agrade!</i></p>	<p>3</p> <p>My darling, what has he done to you, that his sorrow never ends? He raises your complaints of loves and they are of no use to him. Mercy! My life and my death between your hands they lay. <i>You who, on par, heal and sick!</i> <i>You can take away my ills</i> <i>I melt for loving you.</i> <i>Do with me as you please!</i></p>
<p>4</p> <p>¿Quién me ayuda, si en sus ojos me está la muerte acechando? Es la hermosura en esencia, si se va contoneando. Quisiera pintar sus prendas pero no puedo lograrlo. <i>Ver su mejilla es lo mismo</i> <i>que en un jardín pasearse;</i> <i>mas ¡guay de cortar sus frutos!</i> <i>Lo impiden agudos sables.</i></p>	<p>4</p> <p>Who will help me, if in her eyes death is stalking me? It's the beauty in essence, if she leaves wagging. I would like to paint its garments but I can not achieve it. <i>Seeing her cheek is the same</i> <i>as to amble in a garden;</i> <i>but joyous to cut its fruits!</i> <i>Sharp sabers impede it.</i></p>
<p>5</p> <p>La encerrada doncellica a la que la ausencia aflige; la que con sus trece años llora, abandonada y triste, embriagada de deseos, qué bien a su madre dice²⁷²:</p>	<p>5</p> <p>The imprisoned virgin to which absence afflicts; to which with her thirteen years cries, abandoned and sad, drunk with desires, to her mother she says²⁷³: "Man li bidabyin rabibi".</p>

²⁷² BEN FARACH, BEN HAZAM, GARCÍA GÓMEZ, Emilio; BEN JAFACHA, AR-RUSAFI AND ABU L-WALID BEN 'ISA AL-HABBAZ AL-MURCI (1983-1984). Amor. Poesía arábigo andaluza. In: Revista Litoral, N° 139/141, pp. 50-51, 53-62.

²⁷³ BEN FARACH, BEN HAZAM, GARCÍA GÓMEZ, Emilio; BEN JAFACHA, AR-RUSAFI AND ABU L-WALID BEN 'ISA AL-HABBAZ AL-MURCI (1983-1984). Amor. Poesía arábigo andaluza. In: Revista Litoral, N° 139/141, pp. 50-51, 53-62.

¡Oh madre, mi amigo se va y no más tornará Dime qué haré, madre: ¿ni un besito me dejará?	Mamma, my love is going away and won't be back again! Tell me what to do, mamma, if my pain doesn't ease!
--	--

Abū-l-Walīd Yūnus ibn ʿĪsā al-Ḥabbāz al Mursī (al-Mursī: from Murcia; al-habbāz: a baker) wrote a *muwashshaḥāt* filled with typical tropes: gazelles (young, seductive, in rut), gardens, rosy cheeks, lions, looks sharp as lances, a kiss that can cure love-sickness — all in the service of describing a lover's feelings when abandoned. In the *muwashshaḥa* by al-Mursī, the poet's salvation is to be found only in the beloved's eyes and in her kisses. In the *kharja* of the *muwashshaḥa*, the speaker of the *kharja* calls to her mother with passion, while “in a state of stupor,” with tears streaming from her eyes.

You know, my love,
 death now is capturing me.
 Come, come, my love,
 I can't sleep without seeing you.

This *muwashshaḥa* is dedicated to a “bachelor” named ʿĪsā, without whom the poet cannot live, a man who has sold himself, a precious jewel, for a low price. The *kharja* is sung by a young woman “who suffers the same ill as does the poet,” that is, they cannot sleep: insomnia is another commonplace of classical Arabic poetry. In an interesting passage in the *muwashshaḥa* the poet speaks openly of himself: “I said to myself: ‘Persevere!’ I said to my lover: ‘Don't be so unjust!’ I said to my body: ‘Don't melt away!’ I said to my limbs: ‘Fly!’ ” And he says of the singer of the *kharja*: She sings with passion, as if she were me²⁷⁴....

²⁷⁴ **DENBOER, James** (2015). String of Pearls. Sixty-Four “Romance” *Kharjas* from Arabic and Hebrew *Muwashshaḥāt* of the Eleventh-Thirteenth

5.1.4 Safwan ibn Idris (1165-1202)

On Friday October 15, 1165 was born the poet, writer and speaker Abu Bahr Safwan b. Idris al-Tuyibi of Murcia. He died at thirty-seven years, on the evening of Monday July 9, 1202, and his father the *jatib* Abu Yahya led the prayer before burying him next to the mosque of *al-Yurf* located in Western Murcia²⁷⁵. Safwan was the disciple of Ibn Hubays and of Ibn Pascual. He wrote several literary works in prose and verse, some of which are preserved in the Library of Escorial at Madrid. Two poems about the nobility of Murcia by Ibn Idris, and a *risala* to the author's friend are also inserted into the *Ihatha*. His historical works are:

1. Traveler provision

It is a biographical collection of Spanish writers of the sixth/twelfth century, a complement to Ibn Jakan and Ibn Aliman.

2. Book of fight or literary contest.

3. Itinerary²⁷⁶

However, Muhammad Bin Sharifah found at least 13 works of Safwan ibn Idris Tjibi²⁷⁷.

Centuries. Translated with notes and an introduction by James DenBoer. In: eHumanista Monograph Series 6, pp. 22 and 63.

²⁷⁵ **ALUBUDI, Jasim** (1993-1994) *Dos viajes inéditos de Safwan b. Idris*. In: Sharq al-Andalus, 10-11, Homenaje a María Jesús Rubiera Mata, pp. 211-243. Cited on p. 211

²⁷⁶ **PONS BOIGUES, Francisco** (1898) *Historiadores y geógrafos arabigo-españoles*. Madrid, N° 209, pp. 255-256

²⁷⁷ **MUHAMMAD BIN SHARIFAH; SAFWAN IBN IDRIS TUJIBI** (1165-1202) *Adib Al-Andalus Abu Bahr Al-Tujibi: Umr Qasir Wa-ata Ghazir*. Published in 1999

Safwan belonged to a noble family entrenched in the literary and religious circles of Murcia. His first verse of a poem called “My Beautiful One” is:

My beautiful one

How beautiful she is!
And imagine that beauty
is only one of her qualities.
There is nothing more bewitching
than her movements²⁷⁸.

A Scene of love

It's such a beautiful moon that if I said
‘What do you want to be?’,
it would certainly say "I will be one of its halos."
When the crescent of the sky is in front of her, you see
it as its image when it looks in the mirror.
Mole rates on the page of its cheek the *nunes* that
write in her the curls of her temples.

I went in her company, when night lets her
get close, under her cloak,
the fire of my breath to the fire of her flushed cheeks.

I shook it as the miser shakes his treasure, completely
covering her, and laced it with strings of my arms,
because she's a gazelle whose escapades I fear.

But my chastity refused to kiss her mouth, and my heart was
lowered on its coals.

Marvel at the one feeling his guts burning and complains
of thirst, having water in the throat!²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸

<http://www.poetryfortheelderly.org/poetry-presentations-for-the-elderly/poetry/muslim-poetry>

²⁷⁹ CARMONA, Fernando; HERNÁNDEZ, Carmen; TRIGUEROS, José A. (1986) *Lírica romanica medieval*. Universidad de Murcia, p. 247

Another one is:

Springbok full of coquetry,
that sometimes we like and sometimes frightens us;
throws oranges in a Pool
like the one that stains with blood the chain of network
It is as if he would cast the hearts of her lovers
into the abyss of a sea of tears.

Al-Kutubi, Wafat al-wafayat, I, p. 85

Thanks to the work of Prof. José Emilio Iniesta González of the University of Murcia we know more about the poetry of Safwan ibn Idris who wrote the following verses:

The tears of a spring become in flow
Watering in the beloved Todmir la Vega
Crossed by a river whose water
She sips of sweet drinks

Iniesta González continues stating that Safwan confirms in his

Yearned country of Murcia,
he would not be far from the truth if he said
that the most exalting thing for him,
even more than the earth,
Is the air that freshens up with his perfume
Everywhere extended.

Murcia is my nest,
From which I once walked away.
I wish my will, return me to that nest,
And that I were like the bird who,
returning to his,
Reconstructs it with his feathers.

The river of Murcia is comparable to the Milky Way
For its orchard green,
And the stars would be its flowers.

And by the way those that are born on its banks
 Have advantage over other flowers
 (....). The river dresses the fish of a liquid
 Coat of mail
 Which has no equal;
 In the water the crescent when reflecting looks like the sheet
 Of a sharp sword.²⁸⁰

5.1.5 Abu Ya'far Ahmad ad-Dabbî

He was a native of Murcia and Yecla²⁸¹, of the jurisdiction of this city; he was born in 538 (1143), and after learning what constituted the Muslim knowledge of his time, he performed the profession of notary, but in the last years of his life he aspired to the laurels of a poet. He left *Obituaries* or books of death, which Ibn al-Abbar used for the writing of *Tecmila*. He died in Murcia in 614 (1217) and was buried in the cemetery of Aben Farach in the district of Sarhán in the inner city. According to reliable information communicated to Mr. Codera, in Fez there is also a work of this author entitled *History of the Spanish Katibs* (secretaries)²⁸².

²⁸⁰ **SAFWAN BEN IDRÍS** (w.d.). *Zad al-Musafir* (Los avios del viajero), text collected by Al-Maqqari. Cited by: **INIESTA GONZÁLEZ, José Emilio** (1998) *Norias, Ríos y Flores del sentimiento. (en la poesía de la Murcia Islámica)*. In: Cangilon, revista etnográfica del museo de la huerta de Murcia, Nº 17, Diciembre, pp. 9-12

DELGADO, Santiago (1993) Murcia. *Antología general poética*. Universidad de Murcia, p. 13

²⁸¹ Dabbî, Abû Ja'far Ahmad (d. 1203) *Bughyat al-multamis*. Edited by F. Codera and J. Ribera. *Bibliotheca Arabico Hispana* (B.A.H.), vol. 3. Madrid, 1885

²⁸² **PONS BOIGUES, Francisco** (1898) *Historiadores y geógrafos arabigo-españoles*. Madrid, Nº 224, pp. 266-267

5.1.6 Al-Usûlî

Another person that could have had a great influence during a certain period in Murcia was Al-Usûlî. This person was also carefully studied by Josep Puig²⁸³:

Al-Usûlî is the most impressive figure among Averroes's supporters. Born in Seville (date unknown), he was a member of the old local family of the Banû Marzuqân. He went to Egypt to study and in Alexandria attended the *majlis* of Abû t-Tâhir b. 'Auf as-Salifî. As-Salifî considered al-Usûlî a heretic, however, and expelled him from the town. He then moved to Algiers and Marrakesh, where he taught the fundamentals of legal doctrine (*usûl al-fiqh*). It was his knowledge of these principles that earned him the *nisba* of al-Usûlî. The most widely known work on usûl produced during the Almohad period was the *Mustasfâ* by al-Ghazâlî. Al-Usûlî worked through the text "correcting its failures" and writing commentaries, but these writings are not preserved. Apparently he discovered philosophy in Marrakesh and devoted great effort to "the old philosophical sciences." As soon as al-Usûlî came to Marrakesh, he was invited by al-Mansûr to his palace courts. As in the case of Dhahabî, al-Usûlî was appreciated for his knowledge of the Islamic sciences as well as for his investigation of their fundamentals. He did not hide his interest in philosophy, and during Averroes's persecution, Usûlî did not abandon him. When al-Mansûr questioned al-Usûlî: "Do you study the science for which Averroes has fallen out of favor?," he admitted that he did and continued these studies. For his defense of the freedom of science, al-Usûlî was also persecuted and confined to Aghmât, but he was admired for his courage and was later appointed judge of Bougie (twice) and Murcia and associate judge of Marrakesh. In 608/1211—12, al-Usûlî became chief judge of Bougie for the third time. Al-Ansârî praises him for his zeal and just behavior, saying that he always states the truth openly, but that his enemies never stopped accusing him of heresy. Among them, Abû Muhammad b. Hajjâj was relentless. Abû 'Abd Allâh al-Usûlî was arrested, tortured, and even lost his sight. He died in Bougie in Dhû l-Hijja of 612/March-April of 1216.

²⁸³ **PUIG, Josep** (1992) *Materials on Averroes's Circle*. In: Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Vol. 51, N°. 4, pp. 241-160. Citation on p. 247

5.2 1184-1199 Abu Yusuf Yaqub al-Mansur

It is believed that the new emir would certainly undertake new expeditions against the Christians, and it is still said that, having asked Morocco for troops, he came to be alongside his brother Abuyahya, who we have seen as governor of Cordoba, and got to take some castles and ravage the enemy's borders; but upheavals in Africa made him leave for Morocco. It happened that hearing about the death of Abuyacub in Santaren, the Almoravides of Mallorca, led by their princes Ali and Yahya, sons of Ishaq, children of Mohámed, sons of Ali Abengania, had invaded the African coast seizing Bugia and neighbouring regions and giving cause for a conflict that greatly contributed to abating the Almohad power. By the time Abuyúsuf Mansur left Seville to march towards Morocco, or very soon after, another brother, called Abuhafs, who took the nickname *Arraxid* was appointed as part of the government of Murcia, replacing his brother Abuabdála. He appears chairing the eulogy at the funeral of the famous alfaquí Abdurrahman Abenhobaid who died in Murcia in 1188²⁸⁴

²⁸⁴ **HUICI MIRANDA, Ambrosio** (2013). Abū Yūsuf Ya‘kūb b. Yūsuf b. ‘Abd al-Mu‘min al-anṣūr. Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition. Brill Online. Reference. 9 January 2013.

NAKAMURA, Kojiro (1974). Ibn Mada's Criticism of Arab Grammarians. In: Orient, v. 10, pp. 89-113.

VERSTEEGH, Kees (1997). The Arabic Linguistic Tradition, p. 142. Part of Landmarks in Linguistic Thought series, vol. 3. New York: Routledge.

DAIF, Shawqi (1947). Introduction to Ibn Mada's Refutation of the Grammarians, p. 6, Cairo, 1947.

BEAMIER, A. (1860). Roudh el-Kartas (History of the Rulers of Morocco).[[]French translation by A. Beaumier.

Wikipedia (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>).

The new governor of Murcia was not in charge of the city for much time, and his days ended tragically for apart from the fact that his administration was fatal to the region of his command, to the extent that an Arab author says of him that he was a thief of the places he ruled. He attempted to rise against the emir and dethrone him with the support of his uncle Aburrebia, governor of Tedla, through which the power of his brother would have been gravely disrupted as a result of the disaster suffered in Ghomart by the avant-garde army that he had sent against the Almoravides Ali and Yahya. Abenganía, which, as has been said, had managed to seize Bugia and its counties. The purpose of the governor of Murcia Arraxid had not been more than an intention; but it was not secret enough to be ignored by the emir; for after returning to his capital after having recovered Bugia from the power of the Almoravids, he was informed of the conduct of his brother and his uncle the governor of Tedla. When Arraxid went to Morocco to congratulate him on the happy return of his campaign in Bugia according to the custom followed by the princes in such cases, he met him near Mequinéz. They had not even talked when the emir ordered that Arraxid should be handcuffed and taken as a prisoner to Morocco until the cause, on which he ordered to form an act regarding his management and intentions, was sentenced.

The sentence should not have been favourable; in addition to being accused of his unjust administration and having caused death to the Murcian qadi and preacher of the Abenabichomra aljama striking him on the chest with a terrible blow of his sword, from which he died. His attempt to usurp the power to his brother was public and proved by the maneuvers he had brought with other leaders, endeavouring to engage them in the realization of his desire. Confirmed the guilt of Arraxid and his uncle Aburrebia Soláiman, they were sentenced to death and executed at the request of the emir.

In the following years, from 1190 to 1195, nothing has been recorded by the known Arab authors who referred specifically to the region of Murcia. The only news was that their troops had to concur with those of the other districts to the campaigns that Abuyúsuf Almanzor personally undertook during those years in order to contain the advance of the Christians, mainly of Portugal and Castile, which he obtained in the felicitous expeditions of the two Muslims known by the names of Silves and Alarcos.

The emir still came out against the Christians the following year (1196), and after ravaging several castles in Extremadura and Toledo, even threatening the capital and devastating its countryside, he returned to Seville. The fortunate expeditions of Abuyúsuf forced the Christians to ask for a truce which was agreed for five years. The Emir then went to Morocco and appointed his son Mohamed as heir Prince, who obtained the title of Anasir Lidinalá, when his father died in December 1198 or January 1199, and took up the emirate²⁸⁵.

²⁸⁵ **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*. Zaragoza: Tip. de Andrés Uriarte, p. 245-247

Abu Yusuf Ya'qub al-Mansur (c. 1160 Morocco – January 23, 1199 Marrakech, Morocco), also known as Moulay Yacoub, was the third Almohad Caliph. Succeeding his father, al-Mansur reigned from 1184 to 1199. His reign was distinguished by the flourishing of trade, architecture, philosophy and the sciences, as well as by victorious military campaigns in which he was able to temporarily stem the tide of Christian Reconquista in the Iberian Peninsula.

Al-Mansur's father was killed in Portugal on July 29, 1184; upon reaching Seville with his father's body on August 10, he was immediately proclaimed the new caliph. Al-Mansur vowed revenge for his father's death, but fighting with the Almoravids, who had been ousted from the throne, delayed him in Africa. After inflicting a new defeat on the Almoravids, he set off for the Iberian Peninsula to avenge his father's death.

His 13 July 1190 siege of Tomar, center of the Portuguese Templars failed to capture the fortress. However, further south he in 1191 recaptured a major fortress, Paderne Castle and the surrounding territory near Albufeira, in the Algarve - which had been controlled by the Portuguese army of King Sancho I since 1182. Having inflicted other defeats on the Christians and captured major cities, he returned to Morocco with three thousand Christian captives.

Upon Al-Mansur's return to Africa, however, Christians in Iberian Peninsula resumed the offensive, capturing many of the Moorish cities, including Silves, Vera, and Beja. When Al-Mansur heard this news, he returned to the Iberian Peninsula, and defeated the Christians again. This time, many were taken in chained groups of fifty each, and later sold in Africa as slaves.

While Al-Mansur was away in Africa, the Christians mounted the largest army of that period, of over 300,000 men, to defeat Al-Mansur. However, immediately upon hearing this, Al-Mansur returned again to Iberia and defeated Castilian King Alfonso VIII Alfonso's army in the Battle of Alarcos, on July 18, 1195. It was said that Al-Mansur's forces killed 150,000

and took money, valuables and other goods “beyond calculation”. It was after this victory that he took the title *al-Mansur Billah* (“Made Victorious by God”).

During his reign, Al-Mansur undertook several major projects. He built the Koutoubia and El Mansouria mosques in Marrakech and the kasbah of the Udayas, accessed by Bab Agnaou and Bab Ksiba in the southern part of its medina. He attempted to build what would have been the world’s largest mosque in Rabat. However, construction on the mosque stopped after al-Mansur died. Only the beginnings of the mosque had been completed, including the Hassan Tower.

Al-Mansur protected the philosopher Averroes and kept him as a favorite at court. Like many of the Almohad caliphs, Al-Mansur was religiously learned. He favored the Zahirite or literalist school of Muslim jurisprudence per Almohad doctrine and possessed a relatively extensive education in the Muslim prophetic tradition; he even wrote his own book on the recorded statements and actions of the prophet Muhammad. Mansur’s Zahirism was clear when he ordered his judges to exercise judgment only according to the Qur’an, said recorded statements and absolute consensus. Mansur’s father Abu Yaqub appointed Cordoban polymath Ibn Maḍā’ as chief judge, and the two of them oversaw the banning of all non-Zahirite religious books during the Almohad reforms; Mansur was not satisfied, and when he inherited the throne he ordered Ibn Maḍā to actually undertake the burning of such books. He died in Marrakech, Morocco. His victory in Alarcos was remembered for centuries later, when the tide of war turned against the Muslim side. It is recounted by the historian Abou Mohammed Salah ben Abd el-Halim of Granada in his 1326 “*Roudh el-Kartas*” (“History of the Rulers of Morocco”). The town of Moulay Yacoub, outside of Fez, Morocco, is named after Al-Mansur, and is best known for its therapeutic hot springs.

According to Huici Miranda with respect to Murcia we look at the strange attitude of the brother Abû Yahyâ. When al-Mansur went back to Morocco after the campaign of Silves, he became seriously ill. His brother Abû Yahyâ, who was appointed governor of Andalus, was late and excused himself to go to his place hoping to see Caliph die and become his successor. Finally forced to leave, he intrigued the Almohad Andalus sheikhs, was sure to receive the news of the death of al-Mansûr, and managed to be proclaimed in Murcia. Knowing that his brother had learned of his dealings when he was in Fez, convalescent he crossed the strait to excuse himself, but al-Mansur did not forgive him and had him killed in Salé.

The other brother, Abû Hafs ‘Umar al-Rasid was not much better and expected a similar fate. Al-Mansûr also made him go back to Morocco:

He and al-Rasid talked about things contrary to good agreement, which set in motion inanimate beings to condemn them and gave birth to opposition and apostasy, shaking those who heard them and who opposed to them not being able to reject their evil. Al-Rasid hid his frauds for months and spent nights and days with seditious purposes and everyone arriving from Andalus had their dealings with Alfonso and his alliance with him through strong communications and correspondence to assist each other in hypocrisy and understand and agree to it.

That al-Rasid had oppressed people with a variety of injustices, seeking pretexts to seize the money of traders and damage neighbours. He forced collectors to deliver the boxes of public funds and charged them heavy taxes. He then chose Ibn Rayâ, almojarife of Murcia, imprisoned him, and asked him to submit lists of contributions and the standards where those were included. The man couldn't fulfill that absurd impossible job, and was whipped to death. Ibn Sulayman fled to Valencia, was administrator of contributions in Murcia, and so did the secretary Hakam b. Muhammad, who separated from him while fleeing for his life and seeking escape. He wrote to al-Rasid showing him affection, promising and giving hope, and he walked dumbfounded towards his death, which led to disappointing their hopes. Al-Rasid bribed one of his hâfices to allow

him to stay at his home and, falling on him violently, threw him down the pit. The libertine followed his order and killed him without giving him time. The issues of al-Rasid were discovered by people and betrayal fell on him and he lost because of his wickedness. While this was happening, he got a call from the capital and the suffering of the people of Andalus ended; he left and people fired him with very bad epithets²⁸⁶.

5.2.1 Safwan b. Idris

Abu Bahr ibn Ibrahim ibn ‘Abd ar-Rahman ibn ‘Isa at Tugibi al-Mursi²⁸⁷ was born in Murcia in 561/1165. He was a humanist, poet, and disciple of Ibn Rusd (Averroes). He was a member of the court of the Almohad Caliph Yaqub al-Mansur and died in Sawal in 1202.

5.2.2 Sayyid al-Rasid - governor of Murcia

Troubles in Ifriqiya and news of the defeat of ‘al-‘Umra near Gafsa (rabi‘ II 15, 583/June 24, 1187) against the troops of ‘Alí Ibn Ghâniya were the signal for a new revolt against the caliph Abu Yusuf Ya’qub.

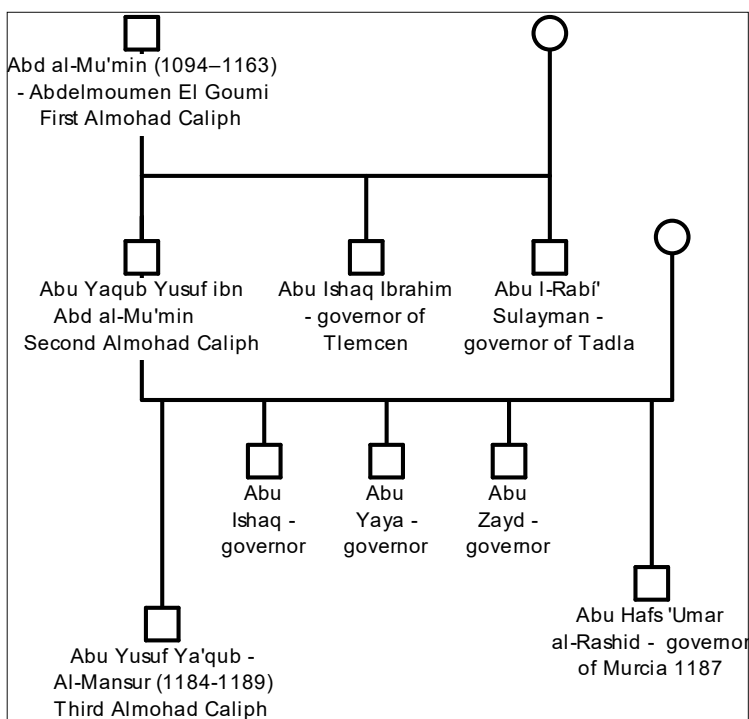
Two of his uncles, the *sayyids* Abú Ishâq Ibrâhîm and Abu l-Rabî‘ Sulaymân, the governors of Tlemcen and Tadla, as well as his brother Abu Hafs ‘Umar al-Rashîd; governor of Murcia, who allied with Alfonso VIII and raised taxes to strengthen his position²⁸⁸, participated.

²⁸⁶ **HUICI MIRANDA, Ambrosio** (1953) Colección de crónicas árabes de la reconquista, Vol. II. Al-Bayân al-Mugrib fî ijtisâr ajbâr muluk al-Andalus wa al-Magrib por Ibn Idâri Al-Marrâkusi. Los Almohades, Tomo I. Tetuan, pp. 145-147

²⁸⁷ **ALUBUDI, Jasim** (2001) *Safwan b. Idris (561-1165/598-1202), poeta de Murcia*. In: Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos, N° 33, pp. 9-39

ALUBUDI, Jasim (1994) *Dos viajes inéditos de Safwan b. Idris*. In: Sharq Al-Andalus. Vols. 10-11, pp. 211-243

²⁸⁸ **BURESI, Pascal & Aallaoui, Hicham El** (2012) *Governing the Empire: Provincial Administration in the Almohad Caliphate (1224-1269)*, p. 71



5.2.3 The poet Ibn Hazmun al-Mursi (d. 614 AH)

The Almoravid and Almohad periods (1091-1145 and 1145-1230) saw the greatest flourishing of the art. At the time Murcia had a brilliant poet by the name of Ibn Hazmun al-Mursi (d. 614 AH).

From early Abbasi time the Arabic poetry saw little change for some ten centuries. Then the *hija'* form was no longer found; only one name is known of a *washshah* who was feared for his satire: Abu 'l-Hasan Ibn Hazmin of Murcia, who made parodies

of popular exciting *muwashshahat* in the style of Ibn Hajar. They have not been preserved²⁸⁹.

Franz Rosenthal²⁹⁰ let us know that Ibn Hazmun²⁹¹ was in Murcia. Ibn ar-Ra'is mentioned that Yahya al-Khazraji came to his salon and recited *a muwash-shahah* of his own composition. Ibn Hazmim said to him: "*A muwashshahah* is not *a muwashshahah* until it is entirely free from forced (artificiality)." When Yahya asked: "How, for instance?" Ibn Hazmun replied: "As, for instance, the following verses of mine:

O you who are keeping away from me - to be united with you - is there a way? Or do you think - your love can be forgotten - by the heart of the (love)sick person?²⁹²"

5.2.4 'Abdallah al-Hiyari

Abu Muhammad Al-Hiyari (d. 1188) was a poet from Guadalajara and the author of "al-Mushib"" (El prolijo) which served as base for the composition of "al-Mugrib" (El extraordinario) by Ibn Sa'id al-Magribi²⁹³.

Ibn Sa'id al-Magribi (1213-1275) observed the following note of 'Abdallah al-Hiyari (d. 1188):

²⁸⁹ **GELDER, G.J.H. van** (1988) *The Bad and the Ugly: Attitudes Towards Invective Poetry (Hija') in Classical Arabic Literature*, pp. 125-126

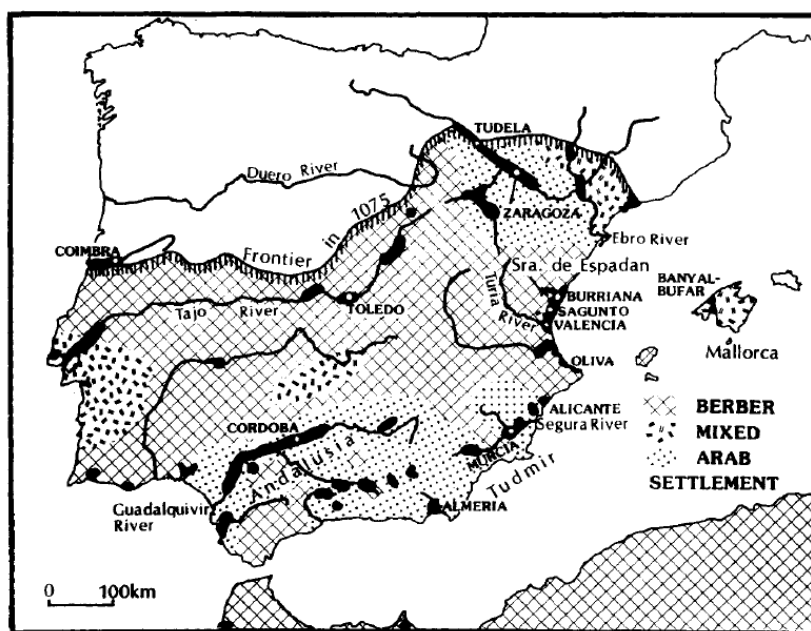
²⁹⁰ **IBN KHALDUN & ROSENTHAL, Franz** (1958) *The Muqaddimah. Abd Ar Rahman bin Muhammed ibn Khaldun*

²⁹¹ **HARTMANN, M.** (1897) *Das arabische Strophengedicht (Semitistische Studien, Ergänzungshefte zur Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, Nos. 13-14)*, pp. 38 ff.

²⁹² **NYKL, Alois Richard** (1946). *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and Its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours*. Baltimore, p. 342.

²⁹³ **LIROLA DELGADO, Jorge & PUERTA VÍLCHEZ, José Miguel** (2012) *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, Vol. I, Fundación Ibn Tufayl de Estudios Árabes, Almería

Murcia is the sister of Seville. The first is the orchard (*bustan*) of the Andalusian Levant (*sarq al-Andalus*); the second is the Andalusian Western orchard. God partitioned the largest river (*anNahr al-A'zam*), granting the eastern arm to one and the western arm to the other. However, Murcia takes more advantage by exploiting the irrigation by the water from its river. Unlike what happened in Seville, Murcia's river flows over its land while it is Seville that elevates its aureate river²⁹⁴.



Arab and Berber settlement.

Copyright: 1985 by the Association of the American Geographers

²⁹⁴ IBN SA'ID (1955) *Kitab al-Mugrib*, edición de Sh. Dayf, tomo II, El Cairo, p. 245

5.2.5 Ibn Hubays (d. 1188).

Abû-l-Kasim Abderrahmân ben Mohammed ben Abdallah ben Yusuf, known by Aben Hobaix (Ibn Hubays).

Genius of the science of its time, last of the traditionals of the Maghreb, incomparable sage. With these and similar phrases the scientific importance of this Muslim was praised in the biographies that consecrate to him Addabî, the Dsahabî, and Aben Allabar. He was born in Almeria in 1110. In 1135 he passed to Cordoba, and there, for three years, we see him frequent the classrooms of the most learned teachers, whose names are not needed to cite now. He returned to his homeland Almeria and remained there until the undefeated Castilian Emperor Alfonso VII seized it in 1147. Then he went to Murcia, and a few days later to Alcira in the province of Valencia, where he led the public prayers for twelve years. He returned to Murcia in 1159 and enacted the position of qadi and preacher in its aljama. Ibn Hubays was a distinguished philosopher, historian, and jurist, one of the best traditionalists, teacher of Aben Dihya, Aben Hauthallah, and others, excelling in all branches of science to the point where his knowledge freed him from captivity when the Christians took Almeria by storm on 20 Chumada in 1147, Ibn Hubays was taken prisoner in the presence of Alfonso VII to whom he said:

"I know your origin and ancestry since Heraclius," and having spoken to the satisfaction of the Castilian monarch, the king said to him: "You may leave freely with your family and accompaniment without any danger." His disciple Addabi recounts that in the same way as Aben Pascual considered (and not without reason) an impertinence to be asked about the date of his birth, he considered saying that it was of little or no relevance to literary history to know the age of some individual. He went down to the tomb on the 14th of Çafar of 1188, and his funeral was sumptuous, while the governor of Murcia recited the rubric prayers. His known works are:

1. Book of war expeditions since the death of Muhammad, dedicated to prince Abu Yacub Yusuf. He speaks of the Arabs' rebellions upon the death of the Prophet; of the conquest of Syria, Egypt, Barca, Tripoli, the rest of Africa, Cyprus, Iraq, and Persia.
2. Compilation of *lacbas* or nicknames.
3. He also left several autographs with which he intended to continue the *Aççila* de Aben Pascual: these writings came into the hands of Aben Alabar who took advantage of them in his *Tecmila*²⁹⁵.

According to Dunlop, Ibn Hubays, the *qâdi* of Murcia, wrote the *Kitâb al-ghazawât* in 1179-1180. This work reflects the character of Muwahhid works²⁹⁶.

5.2.6 Yecla

According to the *Kitab al Mugrib*, a work finished by Ibn Saïd al Magribi (d. 1274 or 1286) and initiated by one of his relatives a century earlier, Yecla was one of the castles in Murcia²⁹⁷.

Prof. Carmona's detailed research resulted in great advance of the knowledge of Yakka²⁹⁸. The poet Ibn Sahl al-YakkT (d.

²⁹⁵ **PONS BOIGUES, Francisco** (1898) *Historiadores y geógrafos arabigo-españoles*. Madrid, N° 205, pp. 253-254

TRIKI, Hamed (2003) *Itinerario Cultural de Almorávides y Almohades*. Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura, p. 408

²⁹⁶ **DUNLOP, D.M.** (1941) *The Spanish Historian Ibn Hubaish*. In: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 359-362. Cited by **CONRAD, Lawrence I.** (1996) *The World of Ibn Tufayl*. Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Hayy bin Yaqzân. Edited by Lawrence I. Conrad. E.J. Brill, Leiden/New York/Köln, p. 21

²⁹⁷ **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso** (1987) *Noticias geográficas árabes referentes a la Bilad Tudmir*. In: Murgetana, 72, Murcia, pp. 115-222. Cited on p. 117

1165) came from Yakka. It was the Arabist Joaquín Vallvé Bermejo who mentioned this poet's name in his biography about Ibn al-Abbar of the 12th century²⁹⁹. His full name was Abû bakr Yahyá ben 'Abdalgilil ben Sahl al-YakkT and he died in Fez in 1165.

Another person who bears the characters of the nisba al-Yakki is to be seen in the Takmila of Ibn al-Abbar (1199-1260). It is Abû Amr Muhammad ben Muhammad al Lahmi, an inhabitant of Murcia whose family originated from Yecla. He was born in 1143, devoted to drafting of contracts, composed verses, and even wrote a biographical dictionary. He died in Murcia in 1218 at 76 years of age.

The third important person of Yakka was Ahmad ben Sa'íd al - Qaysi who lived in Murcia and was known as Abû l-Abbás Ibn al-Yakki. He was born in 1197 and was a judge in Murcia and Almeria. He died in 1279³⁰⁰.

²⁹⁸ **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso** (1986) *Sociedad y Economías de la Sociedad Andalusi*. In: Historia de Cartagena, pp. 343-371

CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso (1987) *Noticias geográficas árabes referentes a la Bilad Tudmir*. In: Murgetana, 72, Murcia, pp. 115-222

CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso (1991) *Recorrido sobre la geografía histórica de la ciudad de Murcia*. In: La ciudad islámica. Ponencias y Comunicaciones. Zaragoza, pp. 291-302

CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso (1991) *Yakka, Gumalla, Bilyana*. In: Yakka. Revista de Estudios Yeclanos, 3, pp. 15-21

CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso (1994) *El reino de Murcia entre 1238 y 1275 en fuentes árabes de los siglos XIII y XIV*. In: Yakka. Revista de Estudios Yeclanos, 5, pp. 53-62

²⁹⁹ **VALLVÉ BERMEJO, Joaquín** (1972) *La división territorial de la España musulmana (II)*. La Cora de Todmir. Murcia. Al-Andalus, XXXVII, pp. 145-189. Cited by **RUIZ MOLINA, Liborio** (2000) *Hisn Yakka. Un castillo rural de Sarq Al-Candalus. Siglos XI al XIII. Excavaciones Arqueológicas en el Cerro del Castillo de Yecka (1990-1999)*. Revista de Estudios Yeclanos. Yakka 10. Yecla, Ayuntamiento, p. 34

³⁰⁰ **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso** (1991) *Yakka, Gumalla, Bilyana*. In: Yakka. Revista de Estudios Yeclanos, 3, pp. 15-21. Cited on p. 19. This

The latest person who came from Yakka was Muhammad ben Ahmad al-Lahml al-Yakkî. He was born in Murcia around 1243. His Arabic onomastics is Abû-Abdallah and he was known as Ibn Al-Kammâd. He was a disciple of Muhammad ben Lubb Ahmad Ibn Abi Bakr ar-Riqûti. He lived in Vélez (Málaga) and Granada and distinguished himself as a teacher. He died in 1312³⁰¹.

5.2.7 Caravaca

The first time when the name Caravaca appears with absolute certainty in an Arab book of History is in the chronicle *Al-Mann bi-l-Imama* of 'Abdalmalik Ibn Sahib as-Sala, eyewitness of the facts that he narrates:

The soldiers came to the region of Baza and encamped in a place near that city called Wâdî l-Qastâli (Castril). The command decided to remain there for a few days waiting for the army, cam soldiers and archers who came from Granada. During the days of their stay a detachment of cavalry composed by Almohades and Arabs was sent to carry out an incursion and launch attacks left and right in all those places. They brought abundant loot from the counties of Galera, Caravaca (Qarabaqa), Baza, and from Siena Segura, as well as numerous mules and cows, and tens of thousands of heads of small cattle³⁰².

information comes from the work of Abu Abdallah al-Marrakusi called *Ad-Dayl-wa-t-Takmila*. Edition M. ben Sarifa, Beirut, without year, I, p. 119, note 162. Cfr. **RUIZ MOLINA, Liborio** (2000) *Hisn Yakka. Un castillo rural de Sarq Al-Candalus. Siglos XI al XIII. Excavaciones Arqueológicas en el Cerro del Castillo de Yecka (1990-1999)*. Revista de Estudios Yeclanos. Yakka 10. Yecla, Ayuntamiento, p. 36

³⁰¹ **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso** (1994) *El reino de Murcia entre 1238 y 1275 en fuentes árabes de los siglos XIII y XIV*. In: *Yakka*. Revista de Estudios Yeclanos, 5, pp. 53-62

³⁰² Ed. 'Abdalhadi at-Tazi, 3^a ed., Beyrut 1987, pp. 203-204. Cited by **CARMONA, Alfonso** (1997) *El noroeste murciano en época árabe*. En: *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana*, Vol. XXI-XXII, págs. 59-70. Citation on p. 63

5.2.8 Ibn Mugbar of Murcia

[Abû Bakr Yahyá ibn ‘Abd al-Galil ibn ‘Abd ar-Rahmán, al-Fihri], born at Segura ca. 545/1150. educated at Murcia, lived at Seville, and died in 588/1192 at Marrakus at the age of 53 after a stay of some eight years. According to Al-Maqqari he composed 9,400 verses, mostly praises of the Almohad Sultán Ya’qub ibn Yusuf ibn ‘Abd al-Mu’min al-Mansur. He also wrote praises in honour of the emîr Abû ‘Abdillah ibn Sa’id ibn Mardanis; Abu ‘Ali As-Salubin (or Salubini) was his disciple. Ibn Mugbar was a good satirist. In an assembly of literati one of his former friends (to whom he had done good, but who became his enemy) challenged him to improvise verses describing a cup made of black glass and containing red wine, and thus prove that he was a real poet. Ibn Mugar improvised (*Anal.*, II, p. 139):

1. What do you think, companions, of a glass
Clothed in a dress of dark color, raven-like?
2. We pout into it wine-ashining sun-
And it fades out, engulfed by the pitchdark night:
3. The color of the glass smothers the light of the wine,
Like an envious heart, ungrateful to the benefactor³⁰³.

5.2.9 Ibn Mujdar

Abi Yahy á Ibn Abd-al-Yayil al-Fihri Ibn Mujdar was originally from Murcia according to the historians Ibn al-Abbar and Ibn Sa'id. He was a poet of the court of Ibn Mardanix, lavish in many respects, even though this king is remembered above all for his cruelties and fondness of war, rather than for his poetic

³⁰³ **NYKI, Alois Richard** (1946). *Hispano-Arabic Poetry: And Its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours*, pp. 327-328

ZAKARIYYA INANI, M. (1991). *Ibn Mugbir de Murcia y su única Muwassaha*. In: *Poesía estrófica: Actas del Primer Congreso Internacional sobre Poesía árabe y hebrea y sus paralelos romances* (Madrid, diciembre de 1989). Coord. Por Federico Corriente Córdoba, Ángel Sáenz-Badillos Pérez, pp. 177-186.

tastes. From the singers of his court the Anthologies quote Ibn Mujdar. We do not know the date of his birth, nor his work, which has been lost. There is nothing more than a few fragments preserved in anthologies. There is one in which the description of a pine is made. It is known that he died in Morocco in 1192³⁰⁴.

5.2.10 Mula

It is known that Abnabdala Mohamed, who died in Seville in 1195 and was the son of Balí Alcaisi, was Kadi in Mula, speaker, lawyer, and professor of religion and the Arabic language³⁰⁵.

5.2.11 Ibn al-Nunisif of Murcia

Ibn al-Munâsif was called Abû 'Abdallâh Muhammad ibn 'Isa al-Azdî al-Qurtubî. His ancestors had flourished in Cordova and distinguished themselves as judges. He was born in Tunis or Mahdiyya in 1168, lived in Tunis, Tlemcen, was qâdî in Valencia and Murcia, was in his ancestral home in Cordova for only a short time (c. 1217), and died in Marrakush in 1223. His *Mudhhaba fî nazm al-sifât min al-hulâ wal-shiyât* here edited, translated into German, and commented on was composed before 1194. The first part of that work on physiognomy called *Khalq al-insân* is an anatomical lexicon in verse!³⁰⁶

³⁰⁴ LACHICA GARRIDO, Margarita (1995) *Poetas árabes del país valenciano*, Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval. N. 9, pp. 17-37. Citation on p. 28

³⁰⁵ SÁNCHEZ MAURANDI, Antonio (1955) *Historia de Mula*. Murcia, p. 25

³⁰⁶ SARTON, George & SIEGEL, Frances (1951) *Seventy-Seventh Critical Bibliography of the History of Philosophy of Science and of the History of Civilization (To March 1951)*. In: Ibis, Vol. 42, N° 4, pp. 309-395. Citation on p. 316

5.2.12 Abû Bakr b. Jahwar from Murcia

This disciple of Averroes came from Murcia. When he settled in Cordova, he studied with Averroes and became his friend. He and Averroes later had a dispute, although it is not known what it was about³⁰⁷.

In 1197 the Caliph caved in, banned the study of philosophy, and ordered the works of the philosophers to be burnt. Averroes was removed from his judicial position and exiled under house arrest to Lucena, a town near Cordoba. As indicated hereinbefore, Abû Bakr ibn Jahwar had turned against his teacher³⁰⁸.

5.2.13 Ibn ‘Arabi of Murcia

The famous Ibn ‘Arabi of Murcia nurtured the doctrine of *wahdat Al-wujud*. Maybe we have before us the spiritual chain of transmission (*isnâid*) – Ibn ‘Arabi > Ibn Sab’in > Ibn Hud. Although historians are saying the same for Ibn Sab’in, there are other researchers who state that *Al-wahda Al-mutlaqa* (absolute oneness) was his doctrine³⁰⁹.

Muslim dominance on the Iberian Peninsula had passed its peak and, indeed, was heading for extinction. But Spanish intellectual life was still illumined by the afterglow of the Moorish civilization. During the preceding three centuries the intellectual zest and material splendour of Cordova and Sevilla surpassed those of Paris and possibly even Constantinople. The Muslims of Spain had transmitted to Europe much of the

³⁰⁷ **PUIG, Josep** (1992) *Materials on Averroes's Circle*. In: Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Vol. 51, Nº. 4, pp. 241-160. Citation on p. 255

³⁰⁸ **KHALED ABOUT EL FADL** (2001) *The Search for Beauty in Islam*. New York, p. 93

³⁰⁹ **GEOFFROY, Eric** (1998) *L'Apophatisme chez les mystiques de l'islam*, (religioperennis.org), pp. 1-12. On p. 8

DUGGAN, T. Mikail P. (2014) *Veil of Light*. In: Mediterranean Journal of Humanities, IX/1, pp. 129-157. In p. 137

Wisdom of the Greeks, and with their co-religionists in Syria, Persia, and Iraq had produced a corpus of philosophical and scientific knowledge that was to leave a deeper imprint upon European civilization than any other foreign culture before or since.

Ibn Arabi was born in Murcia on 25 July 1165AD. His father ‘Ali Ibn Muḥammad served in the army of Ibn Mardanish. When Ibn Mardanish died in 1172 AD, ‘Ali Ibn Muḥammad swiftly shifted his allegiance to the Almohad Sultan Abu Ya’qub Yusuf I and became one of his military advisers. His family then relocated from Murcia to Seville. His mother came from a wealthy Berber family with strong ties to northern Africa. Ibn ‘Arabi’s intellectual training began in Seville in 578 AH. Most of his teachers were the clergy of the Almohad era and some of them held the official posts of Qadi or Khatib. At the age of eight he was in Lisbon where he received the rudiments of Muslim orthodox education. Besides learning the Qur’án he studied the principles of Islamic law.

Ibn Arabi belonged to the Zahirite School of law and was a follower of Ibn Hazm. He was personally acquainted with Averroes and it is said that he attended his funeral. Ibn al-‘Arabi’s well-known visit to him in Cordova happened when he was still a beardless boy and Averroes a *qâdî al-jamâ’a* in Cordova. The interview, as Ibn al-‘Arabî describes it, took a strange form in that few words and much feeling were expressed. Averroes asked him, for example: “How did you find the matter concerning the divine revelation and emanation?” and Ibn al-Arabî answered: “Yes and no”. He even claimed to have met Averroes another time in one of his visions, but the communication was unsatisfactory and he decided not to try it again³¹⁰.

³¹⁰ **PUIG, Josep** (1992) *Materials on Averroes’s Circle*. In: Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Vol. 51, N°. 4, pp. 241-160. Citation on p. 251

His spiritual mentor in Fes was Mohammed Ibn Qasim Al-Tamimi. In 597 AH/1200 AD he was in Morocco and took his final leave from his master Yusuf Al-Kumi, who was living in the village of Salé at that time. Ibn Arabi undertook Hajj in 598 AH. He lived in Mecca for three years. It was in Mecca that he started writing the very best of his works *Al-Futuḥat Al-Makkiyya*. After spending time in Mecca he travelled around Syria, Palestine, Iraq, and Turkey.



Ibn Arabi's cenotaph in glass case in his tomb (Qubba) in the district of Al-Salihiya on the northern edge of Damascus at the foot of Jabal Qasiyun. (Nerrudin, CC BY 2.5)

The year 600 AH witnessed a meeting between Ibn Arabi and Shaykh Majduddin Ishaq Ibn Yusuf, a native of Malatya and a man of great standing at the Seljuk court. This time Ibn 'Arabi was travelling north; first they visited Medina and in 601 AH they entered Baghdad. This visit, among other benefits, offered him a chance to meet the direct disciples of Shaykh 'Abd Al-Qadir Jilani. Ibn Arabi stayed there for only 12 days because he wanted to visit Mosul to see his friend 'Ali Ibn 'Abdallah Ibn Jami', a disciple of Qaḍib Al-Ban.

There he spent the month of Ramaḍan and composed *Tanazzulat Al-Mawṣiliyya*, *Kitab Al-Jalal wa'l-Jamal*, and *Kunh ma la Budda lil-MuridMinhu*. In 602 AH he visited Jerusalem, Mecca, and Egypt. It was his first time passing through Syria, visiting Aleppo and Damascus. Later in 604 AH he returned to Mecca where he continued to study and write, spending his time with his friend Abu Shuja bin Rustem and family, including the beautiful Nizām. The next 4 to 5 years of Ibn 'Arabi's life were spent in these lands and he also kept travelling and holding reading sessions of his works. In 629 AH the first draft of *Al-Futuḥat Al-Makkiyya* was completed. Hundreds of manuscripts of this work exist in various libraries around the world, the most important of them being the manuscript of Konya, written by its author.



**The Meeting of Arabs under a tree
Painting of Horacio Vernet, de 1834**

Three years later in 632 AH, on the first of Muḥarram, Ibn ‘Arabi embarked on the second draft of the Futuḥat; he explained this and included a number of additions and deletions as compared with the previous draft. This revision was completed in 636 (Addas 286). After completion of the 2nd draft he started teaching it to his disciples. Hundreds of his hearings or public readings occurred between 633 AH and 638 AH. On 22 Rabi‘ Al-Thani 638 AH Ibn ‘Arabi died in Damascus at the age of seventy-five.

Ibn Arabi is renowned by some practitioners of Sufism as "the greatest master" and a genuine saint. He went by the names Al-Shaykh Al-Akbar, Muḥyiddin Ibn Arabi, and was also later nicknamed the Great Shaykh.

For many years the historians followed part of the biography of Ibn Arabi as given by Al-Qari Al-Bagdadi. His monograph, the Durr Al-tamin fi manaqib Al-Sayh Muhyi l-Din was used for that purpose³¹¹.

[Ibn Al-‘Arabi] had been one of the sons of the rulers, notables and chiefs of that time. His father was the minister (*wazir*) of Séville’s overlord, the Sultan of the West [*sci.*, the Almohad caliph].

Now, a ruler who was one of his father’s associates [once] invited him, along with a group of [other] sons of rulers, to a banquet. When the Master, Muhyi l-Din [Ibn Al-‘Arabi] (May God be pleased with him!) and the whole gathering were present and they had taken their fill of the food, the cups of wine (*aqdah Al-rah*) began going the rounds among them, until it came to the turn of [Ibn Al- ‘Arabi, who] took the cup in his hand, intending to drink from it. But he heard [a voice] saying: “O Muhammad, not for this were you created!” So he cast the cup aside and went out in a state of utter perplexity.

When he arrived at the entrance of his home he described by the gate a herds-man of the minister’s [*sci.*, his father’s] flocks, [covered] with the dust in which he spent every day. [Ibn Al-‘Arabi] then accompanied him to the outskirts of the city, where he took [the shepherd’s dirty] clothes and put them on, and gave him his own

³¹¹ **ELMORE, Gerald** (1998) *New Evidence on the Conversion of Ibn Al-Arabi to Sufism*. In: Arabica, T. 45, Fasc. 1, pp. 50-72. In pp. 53-54

clothing. [Thereafter] he wandered around (*saha*) until he arrived after some time at a cemetery (*gabbana*) situated by a running stream, and he resolved to sojourn in the cemetery. For in its midst he found a tomb (*qabr*) which had caved in and fallen to ruins, [so that] it resembled a small grotto (*Al-magara Al-sagira*). He then entered [this grotto] and occupied himself with the Invocation [of God] (*Al-dikr*), never even emerging [thence] except at the time of prayer.

The Master [Ibn Al-Arabi] has said: “I stayed in that cemetery for four days; and I came out thereafter with all of this knowledge [that I now possess].”

In 1997 Gerard Elmore³¹² happily produced a new biography of Ibn Al-‘Arabi basing himself on Fuat Sezgin’s publication of the facsimile edition of a manuscript of the *Qala’id Al-juman fi fara’id shu’ara hadha ‘l-zaman*. Hereunder follows a partial description of the biography as reflected by Elmore:

Muhammad b. ‘Alī b. Muhammad b. Ahmad [Ibn] al- ‘Arabī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh, the Gnostic Master [surnamed] al-Hātīmī al-Ta’ī, a descendant of ‘Abd Allāh, son of Hātīm al-Tā’i. He was bom in the town of Murcia in the time of the [independent] Commander, Abū ‘Abd Al-lāh Muhammad b. Sa’d Ibn Mardānīsh, in the year 560 [= 1165 A.D.]; and he died on the 22nd day of Rabī’ al-Ákhar in Damascus, and was buried at Jabal Qásiyūn in the tomb of the Qádī, Zakī al-Dīn, in 638 [Nov. 10, 1240].

He studied traditions with Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muhammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Hajrī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muhammad b. Sa’id Ibn Zarqūn, Abū -l- Husayn Yahyá b. al-Sá’igh al-Sabtī, Muhammad b. Qásim b. ‘Abd al- Karīm al-Fási, and a number of others besides them.

His family were soldiers (*ajnad*) in the service of those who controlled the country (*Al-mustawlin ‘ala -l-bilad*), and he [himself] remained for some time [in his youth] a soldier (*jundi*). Then, in the year 580 [1184], he dropped out of the army. He told me, saying *verbatim*:

³¹² Edited by Fuat Sezgin, 8 vols. (Frankfurt: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, 1990). Abu ‘l-Barakat al-Mubarak b. Abi Bakr Ahmad b. Hamdan Ibn al-Sha’ar was born in Mosul in 593/1197. He moved in scholarly circles in Mosul, Baghdad, and elsewhere, finally traveling to Aleppo where he met Ibn al-‘Arabi in 635/1237 and where he died in 654/1256. **ELMORE, Gerard** (1997) *New Evidence on the Early Life of Ibn Al- ‘Arabi*. In: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 117, 2, pp. 347-439

“The reason for my withdrawal from and repudiation of the army (*intiqali ‘an Al-jundiyyah wa-nabdhi laha*), as well as my following this path [of Sufism] and my propensity toward it (*suluki hadhihi ‘l-tariqah wa- mayli ilayha*), was as follows]: When I went out in the company of my Lord (*makhdumi*), the [Almohad] Prince, Abu Bakr Yusuf b. ‘Ad Al-Mu’min b. ‘Ali, to the great mosque in Córdoba, and I saw [the Prince] bowing and prostrating and humbly abasing himself in supplication to God (To Him belong Might and Majesty!), an idea (*khajir*) stirred in me [so that] I said to myself: ‘If this, the ruler of the land, is so humbly submissive and does this before God (Be He exalted! To Him belong Might and Majesty!), then this world is worth nothing.’ So I left him on that very day, and never saw him again. Thereafter. I followed this path.”

The precise year in which Ibn Al-Arabi entered³¹³ the Sufi path is 580/1184-85. In that year he would have been nineteen or twenty years old. Abu Gafar Al-Uryani of Seville was his first teacher.

He moved to Seville which he made his home for nearly thirty years. There and also at Ceuta he studied Hadith and Fikh. He had visited Tunis in 590 (1194), and in 598 (1201-2) he set out for the East, from where he did not return. In the same year (598) he reached Mecca: in 601 he spent twelve days in Baghdad, to which he returned in 608 (1211-2), and he was back in Mecca in 611 (1214-5). He stayed there for some months, but the beginning of the following year saw him in Aleppo. He also visited Mosul and Asia Minor³¹⁴.

Asin Palacios and Salverda di Grave have pointed out that Dante derived the great design of Hell and Paradise from Ibn Arabi in the *Divina Comedia* and also the image of the beautified young woman as guide to the Divine.

³¹³ See *Al-Futuhat al-makkiya* (Cairo: Dar Al-Kutub Al-Arabiya Al-Kubra, 1911), vol. II, p. 425

³¹⁴ **WEIR, T.H.** (1913-1936) *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. First Edition

5.3 1199-1213 Muhammad al-Nasir

The new emir Mohamed³¹⁵, with the title of Anasir Lidinalá, renewed truce with the Christians, but peace would not last, for great war preparations were made in Seville from 1203 to 1204, and in the following years there were frequent changes of governors in the provinces and excitations to them on the part of the emir in order to watch and attend to the defense of the regions of their respective command. By this time sid Mohamed Abuabdala was mentioned as governor of Murcia, who was transferred to the government of Seville in 1207 to 1208 and replaced in Murcia by sid Abulhásan Abenuachach, who was sent to Morocco in 1210 to 1211 and replaced by Abuimran, the son of Abuyasin, of Hintata.

In the same year the qadi of Murcia Abumoháméd Abenhutalá was transferred to Cordoba, and Abulhásan el Casteli returned to Murcia. Perhaps this last change of the heads of the region of Murcia was due to the threatening danger, for at the time Pedro II of Aragon took possession of several castles belonging to Valencia. The defenders accepted the pity of life that was offered to them by Pedro II in case of surrender. Others

³¹⁵ **LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, Évariste** (2013) *al-Nāṣir. Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Brill Online, 2013. Yusuf II al-Mustansir Billah

CHESTERTON, G.K. (1925) *The Everlasting Man*. London: Hodder & Stoughton. p. 215

RONAY, Gabriel (1978) *The Tartar Khan's Englishman*. London: Cassel. pp. 28–34

STEWART, Graham (2008) *The King Who Wanted Sharia*. England. The Times, February 16

DERBYSHIRE, John (2001) *United States of Islam*. National Review Online, October 12

JULIEN, Charles-André (1994) *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord, des origines à 1830*, édition originale 1931, réédition Payot, Paris, 1994. Wikipedia (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>)

preferred to escape to the most defended cities or to Tremecen. At the same time the Castilians did the same in the districts of Murcia that were frontiers of Aragon.

Such situation brought Emir Anasir in Morocco a commission of the Muslims of Eastern Spain, informing him of the incursions and conquests that the Aragonese monarch was carrying out in his country. Anasir, according to the Arab author, promised to the commission of the East of Spain, as well as to others who would undoubtedly have come to him from the other frontier provinces to Castile and Portugal, that he would shortly come to assist them, and subsequently wrote to the governors of Seville and Cordoba that they should arrange their hosts for the energetic campaign which he was about to undertake personally directing the army.

When everything was prepared, Anasir passed to Spain and from Seville began the expedition that had a fatal result - the Muslims lost the battle of the Navas or Ocab, as they call it, confessing that it was the most tremendous defeat they had ever suffered, and the cause that determined the extinction of their empire in the Peninsula. This battle took place on one of the days of July in 1212 and brought the loss of Évora and Ubeda among other important places as main consequences against the Almohad domination. Furthermore they had to face the invasion of the Maghreb by the Benimerines who advanced from the Tab, and soon the rebellion of the sids or governors of the provinces of Spain and the Maghreb. Shortly afterwards *Anasir Lidinalá* died in Morocco.



Reconquest 711-1492

Muhammad al-Nasir, (*an-Nāṣir li-dīn Allah Muḥammad ibn al-Manṣūr*, died 1213) was the fourth Almohad caliph from 1199 until his death.

On January 25, 1199, al-Nasir's father Abu Yusuf Yaquḥ al-Mansur died; al-Nasir was proclaimed the new caliph that very day Al-Nasir inherited from his father an empire that was showing signs of instability. Because of his father's victories

against the Christians in the Iberian Peninsula (Al-Andalus), he was temporarily relieved from serious threats on that front and able to concentrate on combating and defeating Banu Ghaniya attempts to seize Ifriqiya (Tunisia). Needing, after this, to deal with problems elsewhere in the empire, he appointed Abu Mohammed ibn Abi Hafs as governor of Ifriqiya, so unwittingly inaugurating the rule of the Hafsid dynasty there, which lasted until 1574. He now had to turn his attention back to Iberia, to deal with a crusade proclaimed by Pope Innocent III. This resulted in his defeat by a Christian coalition at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212). He died the following year, and was succeeded by his young son Yusuf al-Mustansir, born of Christian slave Qamar. His viziers were:

- Abu Zayd bin Yujan (1198–1199)
- Abu Mohammed ibn Abi Hafs (1199–1205), the future governor of Ifriqiya (see above)
- Abu Sa'id Uthman ibn Jam'i (1205–1214)

5.3.1 Murcia

Abu Ja'far Ahmad ibn Yahya ibn Ahmad ibn 'Amira, al-Dabbi wrote the work “Kitab Bugyat al-multamis fī ta'rih rijal ahl al-Andalus”. Al-Dabbi was born in Velez, west of Lorca, and spent most of his life in Murcia. He died in 599/1203³¹⁶.

1) The quoted work is one of the best and most complete sets of biographies of important people in Al-Andalus (Islamic Spain) by a historian and biographer landmark in the 22nd century

³¹⁶ ed. Francisco Codera and Julian Ribera (Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, vol. 3 [Madrid: Josd de Rojas, 1885]), biog. 1552, p. 517. Cited by **MONROE, James T.** (1997). Al-Saraqustī, ibn al-Astarkūwī: Andalusī Lexicographer. Poet, and Author of “Al-Maqāmāt al-Luzūmīya”. In: Sources of Arabic Literature, Vol. 28, N° 1, pp. 1-37. Cited on p. 2.

born in the region of Los Vélez, which at that time belonged to the Region of Murcia (Cora Todman).

2) The text contains the most widespread translated and studied version of the famous Treaty of Teodomiro, the pact established between Christians and the southeastern Arabs, also the oldest Spanish-Arabic text on record, during 713.

3) The book provides valuable data on the Hispanic-Arab (Vg. The study of the Koran made by women, the cultural activity of the Jews in the courts of Taifa, etc.) as well as other news related to the time when the author lived.

4) In the "Bughya" we found unique facts about the history of Al-Andalus not stated by another previous or later historians other than Al-Dabbi.

5) The issue discussed was prepared by the eminent Arabist Francisco Codera and Zaidin for The Arabica-Hispanic Library Collection (Volume III) which appears to be the only one directly taken from a manuscript (kept in El Escorial) with a final summary in Latin drafted by Codera himself.

Let's clarify that the full title of the work is *Desire that explores the history of the people of Al-Andalus* (Bughyat al-múltamis fî târîj riyâl ahl al-Ándalus) and the full name of the author is Abû Ya'far Áhmad ben Yahyà ben Áhmad ben 'Amîra, commonly called Al-Dabbi (pronounced addabi).

The book provides valuable information about the region or Southeast or Cora de Todmir³¹⁷.

³¹⁷ **INIESTAS GONZÁLEZ, José Emilio** (2003). La "Bughya": La obra cumre del señor de las biografías. In: Cangilón, N° 24, June, pp. 63-65.



Ruins of Castle of Las Navas in Andalusia
Engraver: John Scott, 1808

In this pass, on a round hill, was encamped in 1212, Mahomet Miramolin of Africa, with his mighty host, when the allied Kings of Castille, Aragon, and Navarre, came over the Sierra Morena to attack him. The strength of his position, and his command of the only way by which they could penetrate into Andalusia, checked their progress. The Moor had behind him an abundant country and rich towns, from which he drew daily supplies: the Spaniards had neither victuals nor drink, nor any means of procuring them in the mountainous desert in which they were engaged: it was therefore necessary to take a speedy resolution: the attack was voted. Under the guidance of a shepherd the allies surprised a hill that overlooked the African camp: the assault was given, the entrenchments were forced,

and the infidels routed with prodigious slaughter. This victory decided the fate of Spain³¹⁸.

5.3.2 ‘Abd al-Kabîr.

‘Abd al-Kabîr was born in 536/1141 in Murcia as the son of Abû Bakr b. Bâqî and died in 617/1220 in Seville. Averroes was among his teachers and protectors. He was considered an expert in the Islamic sciences and medicine. Josep Puig gives us the following information about ‘Abd al-Kabîr³¹⁹:

After serving as a judge in Ronda, he was Averroes’s assistant in Cordova, representing him in the town courts. Around 596/1200 – after the death of Averroes– the *mihna*, a kind of inquisitional prosecution, would result in the imprisonment of ‘Abd al-Kabîr’s friends Abû Bakr Muhammad b. Khalaf and Abû l-Husain Muhammad b. Zarqûn; ‘Abd al-Kabîr himself would be in danger but would escape and stay hidden until normal conditions were restored. ‘Abd al-Kabîr was clearly known because of his allegiance to the philosophical trend, but unfortunately his works are not extant, and we hear nothing more about him.

5.3.3 Al-Ghafiqi

Al-Ghafiqi wrote the Book of Simple Drugs and lived in Cordova. He was known as the greatest authority on pharmacology³²⁰.

He was the most experienced of his contemporaries about the faculties, uses, properties and essential qualities of simple remedies, and in the knowledge of their names. His book on Simple Drugs is not equalled in excellence or in sense; he abridged the writings of

³¹⁸ SWINBURNE, Henry (1808). *Picturesque Tour Through Spain*, London.

³¹⁹ PUIG, Josep (1992) *Materials on Averroes’s Circle*. In: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 51, N°. 4, pp. 241-160. Citation on p. 247

³²⁰ PUIG, Josep (1992) *Materials on Averroes’s Circle*. In: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 51, N° 4, pp. 241-260. Citations on pp. 246-247

LEVEY, Martin (1973) *Early Arabic Pharmacology*. Leiden, p. 152

Dioscurides and the great Galenos in succinct language yet (preserving nevertheless) their full meanings. After their text, he mentioned all that was new in the sayings of later scholars concerning simple drugs, and what everyone of them had collected and known afterwards; thus his book became a collection of the sayings of those who excelled in (the knowledge of) simple drugs, and an encyclopedia to which one had to refer in case of necessity for verification. Al-Ghafiqi's book is lost, but large parts of it are preserved in more than 200 quotations given by Ibn al-Baitar. It is now certain that Ibn al-Baitar's pharmacology is nothing more than of al-Ghafiqi's book with some enlargements and commentaries. Ibn al-Baitar always took with him, in his voyages the "Materia Medica" of Dioscurides and Galen and the drugbook of al-Ghafiqi³²¹.

5.3.4 Rosemary against putrefaction

Quite interesting is to see that in those years they already knew the antioxidant property of rosemary in meat³²²:

IKLIL NABAT GABALI – Rosemary (Rosmarinus officinalis L.)

It is a well-known plant reaching more than a cubit in height with long and thin leaves like fringes, coarse and blackish. Its wood is rough and hard. It has, at the origin of the leaves, a tender whitish-blue flower. Its fruit is hard and opens itself when dry to let out thin seeds, thinner than those of the mustard-plant. In its leaves is a sharp, bitter and astringent flavour, with an aromatic smell. It is diuretic, dissolvent and aperient. In our country (Spain) hunters put it in the interior of venison to prevent its rapid putrefaction.

³²¹ **SARTON, George** (1934). Review on "The Abridged Version of "The Book of Simple Drugs", Vol. 20, N° 2, pp. 454-457.

³²² **AL-GHAFIQI, Ahmad Ibn Muhammad** (1932) The abridged version of the *Book of Simple Drugs*, Cairo, pp. 107-108

5.3.5 Murcia

Muhammad Ibn Abdullah from Murcia, Spain (b. 1174) became known for his travels to Cairo, Arabia, Baghdad, Nishapur, Marv, and Afghanistan. On his travels he made notes of the marvels he encountered³²³.

With regards to Murcia one observes that the town was producing good quality silk:

It is noteworthy that around the time Genoa was exporting bagadelli hispanici to Ceuta it also shipped plain as well as gold or silver-interwoven sendals manufactured in Lucca to Castile, where these fabrics had to compete with Islamic silks produced in Murcia, as attested by a list of maximum prices issued in 1207 by King Alfonso VIII at the Cortes of Toledo³²⁴.



Puerto del Sol, Toledo

³²³ **PEDERSEN, Johannes** (1984) *The Arabic Book*, Princeton, pp. 21-22

³²⁴ **JACOBY, David** (2004). Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian Wet. In: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 58, pp. 197-240. Citation on p. 218

5.3.6 Ibn Al-Mar'a Ibn Dahhaq in Murcia

Ibn Al-Mar'a Ibn Dahhaq (d. 611/1214), who taught in Murcia, had seen and discussed in writing at least one of Ibn Masarra's works (the *Kitab tawhid Al-muqinin*). This work is cited by Ibn Al-Mar'a in his *Sharh Al-Irshad*. The Murcian Ibn Al-'Arabi knew some of Ibn Masarra's works, because he refers to them four times. Ibn Sab'in of the Ricote Valley in Murcia refers in two of his works to Ibn Masarra. Finally, Abu Al-Hasan Al-Shushtari, disciple of Ibn Sab'in, mentions Ibn Masarra in a poem that lists the spiritual forebears of his master³²⁵.

Ibn Al-Mar'a Ibn Dahhaq (d. 611/1214) was a contemporary of Ibn 'Arabi and adherent of the Shudhiyyah. He was exiled from Malaga to Murcia. He was apparently well versed in the Sufi tradition of Andalusis, mentioning in his works Ibn Masarra's *Kitab Al-tawhid Al-muqimim* and writing commentary on Ibn Al-'Arif famed *Mahasin Al-majali*.

According to Massignon³²⁶, Ibn Al-Mar'a Ibn Dahhaq was Ibn Sab'in's instructor in Sufism and taught him the doctrine of *tahqiq Al-tawhid*.

5.3.7 A remarkable woman in Murcia

María Luisa Ávila mentions the following remarkable woman in those years³²⁷:

³²⁵ VAHID BROWN, J. (2006) Muḥammad b. Masarra Al-Jabali and his Place in Medieval Islamic Intellectual History: Towards a Reappraisal. Thesis presented to the Division of Philosophy, Religion and Psychology Reed College. (Portland, Oregon, USA), p. 106.

³²⁶ MASSIGNON, L. (1982) The Passion of Al-Hallaj: Mystic and Martyr of Islam. 4 Vols. Translated from the French by H. Mason, Princeton: Princeton University Press, Vol. II, p. 316.

³²⁷ ÁVILA, María Luisa (1989) *Las mujeres "sabias" en Al-Andalus*. In: *La mujer en al-Andalus: reflejos históricos de su actividad y categorías*

Sayyida bint ‘Abd al-Gani b. ‘Ali b. ‘Utmân al-‘Abdariyya al-Garnâtiyya, Umm al-‘Alâ’ (VII/XIII century)³²⁸. Her father was the qadi of Orihuela who died in 1184. He left his daughter orphaned and she grew up in Murcia. She studied the Koran and excelled in calligraphy. Throughout her life she taught at royal palaces, except during three years in which she was forced to stay at home, being replaced in teaching by her two daughters. She studied with Abû Zakariyyâ’ al-Dimâsqi in Granada. There she transcribed Ihya’ulum al-din of Algacel (m. 1111) from the reading of the mentioned Abu Zakariyya - the most recited book after the Koran. She went to Fez and then returned to Granada. Finally she went to Tunisia and taught in its alcazar. She died on 5 muharram of 647 / April 20, 1249 and was buried the next day in the cemetery of al-Musalla at the exit of Tunisia.

Her father was a Qadi in Orihuela as we can read in his biography written in the *Takmila*³²⁹. He died after 580 / 1184.

sociales. Edition de María J. Viguera. Madrid, Sevilla, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, pp. 139-184. Citation on pp. 171-172

³²⁸ **IBN AL-ABBAR.** (1887) *Al-Takmila li-kitab al-Sila*. Ed. F. Codera, en BAH, v. V-VI, Madrid. Edition M. Alarcón and C.A. Gonzalez Palencia, in: Miscelánea de Estudios y textos árabes, Madrid, 1915, pp. 147-690. Citation on pp. 171-172

IBN ‘ABD AL-MALIK AL-MARRAKUSI, *AI-Dayl wa-l-takmila*. V. I-1-2, VIII-2, ed. M. IBN SARIFA, Beirut, (no year specified). V. VI y V-1-2, ed. I. ‘ABBAS, Beirut, 1964 and 1965. See VIII-2, N°. 261.

IBN AL-QÂDÎ. *Yadwat al-igtibâs*. Rabat, 1973-74, 2v. II, pp. 521-522

³²⁹ **IBN AL-ABBAR.** (1887) *Al-Takmila li-kitab al-Sila*. Ed. F. Codera, en BAH, v. V-VI, Madrid. Edition M. Alarcón and C.A. Gonzalez Palencia, in: Miscelánea de Estudios y textos árabes, Madrid, 1915, pp. 147-690. N°. 2193

5.3.8 The granary at the Cabezo de la Cobertera

Probably the fear of war and insecurity which characterises the Almohade period pushed the Muslims of the Ricotian *huerta* to build the fortified common granary of the Cabezo de la Cobertura, in Andorraix of the territory of Negra (Blanca) and Abarán, in the 13th century. The granary was of the agadir type. The origin of the common granary remains obscure and it is interesting to see that the excavations at the Cabezo de la Cobertura changed the chronological picture by at least three centuries, because the oldest known granary dated back to the 16th/17th century³³⁰.

5.3.9 Another granary in Tudmir

However, we must take into account that there was another granary in Tudmir already in the 10th century, i.e. in the time of Almanzor. It was linked to a granary of which we do not know the exact location, but it was situated in the territory of Tudmir. Francisco Franco-Sánchez observed³³¹:

This control was also carried out, although less directly, by the management of those in charge of the provincial granaries, as shown by news from Ibn Bassam, contained in a letter from Ibn Suhayd to the Valencian taifa king, 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Abi 'Amir (Almanzor's grandson), explaining the promise that he had been made to grant him a property in Tudmir. The motive was that Ibn Suhayd's father had been named governor of Tudmir and Valencia by Almanzor, and the exploitation of the aforementioned property in an indeterminate place

³³⁰ **MEULEMEESTER, Johnny de** (2003) *The Cabezo de la Cobertera (Valle de Ricote, Murcia) and the Fortified Granaries From the Magreb to Central Europe*. In: II Congreso Turístico Cultural del Valle de Ricote: “Despierta tus sentidos”. Blanca 14, 15, 16 Noviembre de 2003, pp. 41-46

³³¹ **FRANCO-SÁNCHEZ, Francisco** (2008) *The Andalusian Economy in the Times of Almanzar. Administrative Theory and Economic Reality Through Juridical and Geographic Sources*. In: Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum, II, pp. 83-112. Citation on p. 92

had been ceded to him; after nine years as governor, his father returned voluntarily to Cordoba weighed down with enormous wealth: *"four hundred gold dinars from the sale of products; gold objects with a value of 100,000 dinars; ownership documents for five hundred head of livestock and two hundred selected slaves"*³³². The governor Ibn Suhayd presented the list of earnings to Almanzor in order for him to indicate the tax that he had to pay for them, complaining about the high price of the grain required to feed the slaves and the livestock. In a display of generosity, Ibn Abi 'Amir exempted him from the taxes and conceded him two thousand *almuds* of cereals, half of wheat, and half, barley, that had to be taken from the state granaries in Villena (Fillana), situated near his property.



Valle de los Alhorines
Photo: Enrique Íñiguez Rodríguez (CC BY-SA 3.0)

³³² **IBN BASSÂM** (d. 542/1147). *Ad-Dahîra fî mahâsin ahl al-gazîra*, Arab edition by Ihsân 'Abbâs, I. Tunis: Dâr al 'Arabîya li-l-Kitâb, 1975: I, p. 193.

5.4 1213-1224 Abu Yaqub Yusuf ‘al-Mastansir

The government of the Emir Yusuf, entitled Almostansir, who succeeded his father Anasir and died in Morocco in late 1213 or early 1214, marks the period of alarming decline in the Almohad Empire. The Arab authors confirm that the new emir, a young man without experience who succumbed to the pleasures of life left matters to his ministers, and the governors worked in their districts as independent lords. As far as Murcia is concerned, in the early years of the Almostansir government it is only mentioned that in 1216 to 1217 the castle of Xerira (Sanfiro³³³ located on the border of Murcia was recovered by the Muslims. On the other hand it should be noted (to explain further facts) that D. Jaime the Conqueror besieged Albarracín in 1220, and in 1222 he found himself with his army near Castellón de la Plana, the owner of the resort. In the same year sid Abumohámed Abdála, son of Yúsuf Almanzor, was transferred from the government of Granada to that of Murcia. There the new governor of Murcia met a Almohade sheikh who had been emir Anasir's minister and governor of Tremecén. The authors do not clearly determine which circumstance of the personage in Murcia was first, nor the reason for his being there. Some say that he marched to Murcia accompanying the new governor, others suppose him already exiled by order of the new emir Almostansir. His surname is not always written in the same way; sometimes it appears as Abenyurchan, other times as Yurchan. The truth is that the rebellion of Aladel is attributed to a person of high recognition such as an emir, first of Spain and soon also of Morocco. This is the most probable version of the subject that appeared in detail by Arab authors. Almostansir died in Morocco in November or December of

³³³ **MOLINA LÓPEZ, Emilio** (1986) *Por una cronología histórica sobre el Sarq al-Andalus (S. XIII)*. In: Sharq al-Andalus, Anales de la Universidad de Alicante, Num. 3, pp. 39-55. Citation on p. 40

1223 or in January of 1224. He was poisoned by his vizier, sid Abenchamid, as Abenjal dun recounts in his works, or as a result of a gash which a cow gave him, for he was a lover of fighting animals. According to Abenaljatib the assembly of the Almohade sheikhs, presided by vizier Abenchami, announced the advent of power of Abumohámed Abd al-Wáhid, the brother of Yúsuf Almanzor, who was soon proclaimed emir³³⁴.

Abu Yaqub Yusuf ‘al-Mustansir’ (also known as Yusuf II, c.1203–1224) was Caliph of Maghreb from 1213 until his death. Son of the previous caliph, Muhammad al-Nasir, the ten-year-old Yusuf was unexpectedly appointed heir by his father on his deathbed. He was confirmed as Almohad Caliph in election by the Almohad sheikhs after his father’s death, and took up the caliphal title “*al-Mustansir*” (“he who seeks the aid of God”). Yusuf’s mother was a Christian slave Qamar. Young and pleasure-loving, Yusuf II left the governing of the Almohad empire to a carefully balanced oligarchy composed of older family members, like his father’s brothers in al-Andalus and his grand-cousin Abu Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Abi Hafs in Ifriqiya, Marrakesh palace bureaucrats such as the vizier Abu Sa’id Uhtman ibn Jam’i and the leading sheikhs of the Almohad Masmudatribes. But without central leadership, and with the Almohad army having suffered grievous losses at the Battle of Navas de Tolosain 1212, a series of rebellions broke out in the Maghreb which the Almohad oligarchs were hard-pressed to contain, contributing to the eventual breakaway of Ifriqiya under the Hafsids dynasty.

Yusuf II died suddenly in early 1224 - accidentally gored while playing with his pet cows. Lacking heirs, the palace bureaucrats, led by Abu Sa’id Uhtman Ibn Jam’i, quickly engineered the election of his elderly grand-uncle as the next caliph Abd al-Wahid I, as the new caliph in Marrakesh. But the

³³⁴ **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*. Zaragoza: Tip. de Andrés Uriarte, p. 249-250

hastiness and probable unconstitutionality of the Marrakesh proceedings upset his uncles, the brothers of al-Nasir, in al-Andalus. They promptly disputed the succession, and elected their own Caliph Abdallah al-Adil³³⁵.

5.4.1 Ibn Jattab al-Gafiqi of Murcia

Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allah b. Dawud b. Jattab al-Gafiqi, Abu Bakr, author of the texts gathered in “Fasl al-jitab”, was born in Murcia in 613/1216 and died in Tremecen in 686/1287. This is indicated in the beginning of the manuscript of the work³³⁶. After having served as secretary at the court of the King of Granada he went to Tremecen, where he occupied the same post with the prince of the believers of Yar’moracen. He died in this village in 1238³³⁷. This date is an error according to the book of “El Bostan”, because Hassan El Ghailani in his thesis mentioned 1287. Ibn Jattab in this work “Fasl al-jitab” describes the decomposition of al-Andalus that the author suffered in his body and soul. The official pieces, records, and letters figuring in the manuscript are a mine of information about the historical events in those years in the reign of Todmir.

³³⁵ **KENNEDY, Hugh** (1996) *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus*. London: Addison-Wesley-Longman.

JULIEN, Charles-André (1994). *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord, des origines à 1830*, édition originale 1931, réédition Payot, Paris, 1994.

O'CALLAGHAN, Joseph F. (1975). *A History of Medieval Spain*.

Wikipedia (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>).

³³⁶ **GHAILANI, Hassan El** (2002) *Edición y estudio del “Fasl al-Jitab” de Abu Bakr Ibn Jattab al-Mursi*. Dissertation of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid

³³⁷ **IBN MARYEM ECH-CHERIF EL-MELITY** (1910) *El Bostan ou Jardin des biographies des saints et savants de Tlemcen*. Traduit et annoté par F. Provenzali, Alger, p. 259

5.4.2 Carpets in Murcia

Yakut mentions Alsh to the north of Murcia, saying: “Splendid carpets (busut fakhira) which have no parallel in the world for beauty are manufactured there”³³⁸.

5.4.3 Chess in Murcia

As a second theorist Abu Zakariya Yahya b. Ibrahím al-Isbihi al-Hákim known as Yahyà al-Judúy al-Mursí "The one from Murcia" (Murcia, s. XII-Ceuta, s. XIII), was a renowned collector and excellent calligrapher, author of several compendia and a treaty about chess that appeared under the title *Kitáb al-Satrany al-musawar li-l-Hákim al-musagir* (Treaty of chess illustrated with miniatures by the expert Hakím). According to the Sevillian anthologist al-Ru'ayní (s. XIII) and the Algerian al-Maqqari (s. XVI) Yahyà al-Judúy composed a famous musical work consisting of several volumes known as *Kitab al-Agani al-Andalusiyya* (Treaty of Andalusian songs), a work that according to Maqqari emulated the *Kitáb al-Agáni* made by al-Isfaháni, although unfortunately it was not preserved³³⁹.

³³⁸ **Yakut** (1866-1873) *Mu'diam al-Buldan, Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. By F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, Vol. I, p. 350. Cited by **SERJEANT, R.B.** (1951) *Material for a History of Islamic Textiles up to the Mongol Conquest*. In: *Ars Islamica*, Vol. 15/16, pp. 29-85, citation on p. 39

³³⁹ **CORTÉS, Manuela** (2008) *Tratados Musicales andalusíes de la escuela Levantina y aportaciones al marco interdisciplinar* (ss. XI-XIII). In: Itamar. *Revista de investigación musical: territorios para el arte*. Univesidad de Valecia, pp. 159-182. Citation on pp. 163-164

5.4.4 Al-Yakki

Abu 'Amir Ibn al-Lahmi Aysun³⁴⁰ was born in Murcia and his family originated in Yakka, a town located in Murcia. His nickname was al-Yakki. Al-Yakki devoted himself to writing of terms of contracts and advice in this area and was an expert in solving intricate questions. Al-Yakki also composed verses and was the author of a useful biographical dictionary. He died in 614/1218.

5.4.5 Mohammad ben Abderrahmân, el Gassanî

Mohammad ben Abderrahmân, el Gassanî was a famous erudite from Granada, who wrote a geographic book about the Origin of the Nile and understood the [Arabic texts] from the Roxethî [Rusâtî]. He also wrote a Commentary to the work titled [Arabic text] and many poetries, celebrating some of the most illustrated Arab lineages; some of these can be seen in Aben Aljathib. He was born in Granada in 568 (1172) and died in Murcia in the Ramadan of 619 (1222). Aben al-Abbar affirms that some of his teachers were disciples of this literate³⁴¹.

5.4.6 Zayd Abu Zayd

Zayd Abu Zayd, called Abū Zayd Abd al-Rahmān ben Abū Abd Allāh Muhammad ben Abū Hafs Umar ben Abd al-Mu'min (Baeza, 1195 - Argelita, 1268) was the last Almohad governor of Valencia. He was born around 1195 as an Almohad Prince, the great-grandson of caliph Abd al-Mumin. He succeeded as governor of Valencia (before 1223 - 1229) after his uncle Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad (1219/20 - before 1223). And lastly

³⁴⁰ **IBN AL-ABBAR** (1887) *Takmila*, Madrid, vol. I, p. 314, n° 939. Cited by **CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso** (2009) *Yecla. Memoria de su identidad*, pp. 99-102

³⁴¹ **PONS BOIGUES, Francisco** (1898) *Historiadores y geógrafos arabigo-españoles*. Madrid, N° 228, pp. 273-274

after his brother, the father of Abū Zayd, Abū `Abd Allāh Muhammad (1210/11 - before 1219/20).

5.5 1224 Abd al-Wahid ‘al-Makhlū’

Upon knowledge of the proclamation of Abu Muhammad Abd al-Wāhid ‘al-Makhlū, brother of Yusuf Almanzor (later called the dethroned) in Spain his nephew Abumohāmed Abdāla Aladel, then governor of Murcia, started to hear about the incitement that Abenyurchan made him so that he would rise up pretending to be the sovereign power, matter that should have been extremely easy for him, as it was said to him amongst other things, because Yusuf Almanzor had expressed his will that he should succeed him after his son Anasir, because the town looked at the vizier Abenchami with evil eyes, and all of the governors of Spain were sons of Yusuf Almanzor and had to be less satisfied with the new order of things. Aladel, who since the first moment when he knew about the proclamation of his uncle showed reluctance to recognize or pay homage to him, listened with visible pleasure to the advice of Abenyurchan and proclaimed himself emir in Murcia, taking the title of Aladel, that in anticipation had been attributed to him in this story. By proclaiming himself emir he already counted on the adhesion of his brothers Abualale, governor of Cordoba, Abulhasan, governor of Granada, and Abumuza, governor of Malaga, who swore loyalty to him in secret. Another notable character to whom, it seems, he wrote afterwards and united his party, was the governor of Jaen Abumohamed the Bayesi or of Baeza, called that because some say that he was born in this city or because he was proclaimed emir in it, as others seem to think. He was the son of Abuabdala Mohamed and great-grandchild of Abd al-mu’min. The Bayesi or the one from Baeza, which is how he is commonly known by the Arab authors, decided to

embrace the cause of Aladel, knowing that Abd al-Wâhid had named the sid Aburrebia, son of Abuhafs in order to replace him from the government of Jaen. Bayesi and Abualale, governor of Cordoba, went to Sevilla where they forced the governor of the city of Abdelaziz, brother of Almanzor and Abd al-Wâhid 'the dethroned' to embrace the cause of Aladel. The only governor that opposed the revolt of Aladel and kept his loyalty to the sovereign of Morocco Abd al-Wâhid was the one from Valencia, Abusaid (Abu Zayd), the son of Abuabdála and brother of the Bayesi.

After Aladel knew that Sevilla was won in his favour he marched there and met his brother Abualale and the Bayesi. Meanwhile, when the Almohad sheikhs of Morocco knew about the proclamation of Aladel in Spain and being won by him with money and promises of high positions, they dethroned Abd al-Wâhid and killed him a few days later in recognition of Aladel, to which they sent their oath of loyalty during March to May of 1224³⁴².

Ibn Abi Zar says that the people in favour of al-‘Âdil entered ‘Abd al-Wâhid’s palace, frightened him, and threatened him with death if he did not abdicate and recognize al-‘Âdil. He accepted their demand and they left the palace, leaving in charge the people who held him in his terror. It happened on Saturday the 21st of the sha’bân in 621 (September 7, 1224); the next day they presented the faqhis and sheikhs before him in the palace with the qadi, and he signed his abdication and recognized al-‘Âdil. Thirteen days after his dethroning they came back and drowned him, looted his palace, stole his treasures, seized his women, and profaned his harem. He was the first descendant of ‘Abd al-Mu’min that was dethroned and murdered, which had not happened to any of the Almohad kings, his predecessors. The Almohad sheikhs went forward for

³⁴² **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*. Zaragoza: Tip. de Andrés Uriarte, p. 250-252

the ‘Abbasies, and this was the cause of the ruin of their empire, the decadence of their power and the death of their kings and sheikhs: this was the way that the first door of sedition was opened.

The death of ‘Abd al-Wâhid happened on the night of Wednesday the 5th of Ramadan in 621 (September 21, 1224). His reign lasted 242 days - eight months and six days; the first was a Sunday and the latter the Saturday on which he was dethroned³⁴³.

Abu Muhammad Abd al-Wahid ‘al-Makhlu’ (also known as Abd al-Wahid I) was the Almohad Caliph of Morocco for less than a year in 1224.

Abd al-Wahid was the son of the great Almohad conqueror Abu Yaqub Yusuf and younger brother of the late Caliph Yaqub al-Mansur (d.1199). He had served with distinction on a campaign in al-Andalus, was appointed governor of Málaga in 1202, and sheikh of the Masmuda tribe of the Haskura in 1206. He served for some time after that as governor in Sijilmasa, and was briefly governor in Seville around 1221. Abd al-Wahid was back in Marrakesh in February 1224, when his grandnephew, the young Almohad caliph Yusuf II, was accidentally killed, leaving no heirs. The palace vizier Abu Sa‘id Uthman ibn Jam‘i quickly drafted the elderly Abd al-Wahid, then in his sixties, and presented him before the Almohad sheikhs of Marrakesh, who promptly elected him as the new Almohad Caliph. However, the hastiness of the election and the probable unconstitutionality of these proceedings was disputed by his other nephews, the brothers of al-Nasir, who governed in al-Andalus. Like other leading Almohad family nobles, the brothers had probably hoped for a less experienced and more

³⁴³ **IBN ABI ZAR** (1964) *Rawd al-qirtas*. Translated and annotated by Ambrosio Huici Miranda, Vol. 2, Valencia, p. 476

pliable candidate likelier to give them freer rein to carry on autonomously in the provinces, as they had enjoyed doing during the caliphate of Yusuf II. The succession stunt unbalanced the careful coalition that had been built up over decades, setting different branches of the Almohad family members against each other, the palace bureaucrats, and the tribal sheikhs. It was the first serious succession dispute in the Almohad Caliphate. Despite disagreements the Almohad coalition had hitherto loyally lined up behind the new caliph. Not this time. Instigated by the shadowy figure of Abu Zayd ibn Yujjan, a former high bureaucrat who had been disgraced and exiled by al-Jami'i, the brothers decided to elect their own Caliph Abdallah al-Adil in Seville, and set about ferrying troops from Spain to challenge Abd al-Wahid I in Morocco.

The new caliphate did not last long. Ibn Yujjan pulled on his old contacts in southern Morocco, notably Abu Zakariya, the sheikh of the Hintata tribe, and Yusuf ibn Ali, governor of Tinmal, who seized the Marrakesh palace and cleared out Ibn Jami'i and his coterie (Ibn Jami'i was eventually killed, while in exile in the Atlas. The caliph Abd al-Wahid I was murdered by strangulation in September 1224. The nickname "al-Makhlu" by which he is frequently referred to in the chronicles means 'the Deposed'.

5.6 1224-1227 Abu Muhammad al-Adil

Abu Muhammad al-Adil³⁴⁴

Most of the Arab authors, by the time they reach this point, refer to the revolt of the Bayesi that aspired to supplant Aladel to his exit from the court of Morocco. The anonymous manuscript of Copenhagen states - and this seems the most likely - that after he knew about his proclamation to the court of the empire in Morocco, Aladel passed onto it. In the same year from Morocco Aladel named his brother Abualale to govern Sevilla, and the Bayesi to govern Cordoba. Another author, Bechî, also referring to the same time, presents Aladel distributing governments of the provinces of Africa. However, before Aladel passed to Morocco or was on the coast, the Bayesi, wishing to be the general emir of the Almohads, rose against Aladel and proclaimed himself *Atafir*, being recognized by the people of Baeza, Córdoba, Jaen, Quesada, and other villages from the central region. Knowing this Aladel ordered his brother Abualale to besiege the rebel in his capital, which seemed to have been Baeza in which he made himself strong. As much as this expedition (like another made consecutively against him ran by Abusaid, the son of Abuhafs) did not yield the desired result, according to some authors the Bayesi accomplished to resist vigorously in his city. Nevertheless, others say that he submitted, but as soon as the army retired from Sevilla, he went into protection of King D. Fernando offering him the delivery of the cities of Jaen and Quesada.

“Giving these cities to him without difficulty, says Mr. Fernández and González, the sovereign of Castilla, put to his

³⁴⁴ **KENNEDY, Hugh** (1996) Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus. London: Addison-Wesley-Longman.

JULIEN, Charles-André (1994). Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord, des origines à 1830, édition originale 1931, réédition Payot, Paris, 1994.

Wikipedia (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>).

order twenty thousand warriors who, after making himself owner of Cordoba, destroyed the people of prince Almamun Abualale (Aben Llale of our chronics) in the territory of Sevilla, brother of Miramamolin Aladel. The authors suppose that Aladel was in Spain after the revolt of the Bayesi, and signal this defeat as a cause fearing Aladel that if his rival prevailed over him, he would go to Morocco leaving Sevilla to his brother Abualale. Aladel's luck on the other end of the Strait was not good; as a victim of the spirit of the rebellion that consumed the empire he was strangled in September or October of 1227 and Yahya, the son of Anasir, was proclaimed in his place. When Abualale knew that the Almohad and Arab chiefs had rejected the authority of his brother Aladel and murdered him, he proclaimed himself *Almamun* in Sevilla and accomplished a formidable insurrection against the proclaimed Yahya in the Strait and that several of the governors of the Magreb and the region of Tunez adhered to his cause. Moreover, he could free himself from his enemy, the Bayesi, as they later left Cordoba with the help of his allies the Christians in order to besiege *Almamun* Abualale in Sevilla, where he was defeated, chased, and from where he fled to lock himself up in Cordoba. However, he found the inhabitants of the city disgusted, be it by their new government or by their alliance with the Christians to whom he just made new territory consensuses. They rose against him and the Bayesi had to look for refuge in Almodóvar, where the vizier cut his head off and marched with it to Sevilla to present it to *Almamun* Abualale³⁴⁵.

During the first phase of the civil fight between Almamun and the Bayesi, aided by the Christians of king Fernando, the latter, apart from the towns and castles (amongst them Baeza, Quesada, Salvatierra, and Bélmez) that his protégé gave them, had penetrated Marbuna, belonging to the region of Murcia,

³⁴⁵ **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*. Zaragoza: Tip. de Andrés Uriarte, p. 252-253

passing by knife his men and taking their children and women captive - the same acts which they committed in Loja, where they also managed to get into the town and the castle of Dalias near Almeria, and a band of Murcian soldiers who had ventured to march in defense of this castle was surprised and annihilated. But the obtained victory by Almamun over the Bayesi, which brought in consequence his death and that everyone who had obeyed him recognized Almamun, he arranged that his Christian auxiliaries would retire from the interior of Andalucía, even those who had moved in their help. It is not the purpose here to mention the fight that Almamun had to sustain in Africa until he proclaimed himself emir in Morocco. But we must mention that the Spanish Muslims took advantage of his absence and the civil war happened in the Strait, was a result of the desire to rise against the Almohad domination and banish it from the Peninsula in the same way as the Almohads ended the domination of the Almoravids before³⁴⁶.

Abu Muhammad ‘Abdallah ‘al-Adil’ (d. October 4, 1227) was an Almohad Caliph of Morocco, a former governor in al-Andalus who challenged and secured the murder of his predecessor Abd al-Wahid I. His 1224 coup ushered in a period of instability that lasted well beyond his death in 1227. He is often regarded as one of the most disastrous of Almohad caliphs. His coup divided the Almohads and set in motion the loss of al-Andalus and the eventual collapse of the Almohad state.

Abu Muhammad Abdallah was a son of Almohad conqueror Yaqub al-Mansur and a brother of the famous caliph Muhammad al-Nasir. Along with his other brothers Abdallah served as an Almohad governor in al-Andalus. Following the premature death of his nephew, the young Caliph Yusuf II al-

³⁴⁶ **GASPAR Y REMIRO, Mariano** (1905) *Historia de Murcia musulmana*. Zaragoza: Tip. de Andrés Uriarte, p. 253

Mustansir, without heirs in January 1224 the Marrakesh palace bureaucrats, led by the vizier Abu Said Uthman ibn Jami'i and the regional Masmuda tribal sheikhs, engineered the election of his elderly granduncle as the new caliph Abd al-Wahid I and presented it to the remaining Almohad family members as a fait accompli. Abdallah, then governing in Murcia, and his brothers Abu al-Ala Idris (governing in Córdoba), Abu Musa (in Malaga), and Abu al-Hassan (in Granada) who formed a powerful clique in Almohad hierarchy were upset at the hastiness and probable unconstitutionality of the Marrakesh proceedings. Moreover, Abd al-Wahid I, despite his age, had a distinguished record and centralizing tendencies, and was less likely to give the brothers free rein in al-Andalus as the young neglectful Yusuf II had done.

The Almohad dynasty had never had a disputed succession. Despite disagreements they had always loyally lined up behind the elected caliph, so rebellion was no casual matter. But Abdallah was soon visited in Murcia by the shadowy figure of Abu Zayd ibn Yujjan, a former high bureaucrat in Marrakesh, whose fall had been engineered some years earlier by al-Jami'i, and was now serving a sentence of exile nearby in Chinchilla (Albacete). Ibn Yujjan persuaded Abdallah to contest the election, assuring him of his high connections in the Marrakesh palace and among the Masmuda sheikhs. In consultation with his brothers Abdallah soon declared himself the new Almohad caliph, taking up the caliphal title of "*al-Adil*" ("the Just" or "the Justicer"), immediately seized Seville, and began making preparations for a march on Marrakesh and confronting Abd al-Walid I. But Ibn Yajjan had already pulled on his Moroccan connections. Before the end of the summer Abu Zakariya, the sheikh of the Hintata tribe, and Yusuf ibn Ali, governor of Tinmal, declared for al-Adil, seized the Marrakesh palace, deposed the caliph, and expelled al-Jami'i and his coterie. The fallen caliph Abd al-Walid I was murdered by strangulation in September 1224. Abdallah al-Adil's

murderous breach of dynastic precedence and constitutional propriety shocked the rest of the Almohads.



Malaga

But Abdallah and his brothers were dominant in al-Andalus and had little trouble imposing themselves on the province, replacing those who refused to recognize the usurpation. In Spain everyone fell in line, with the notable exception of three of Abdallah's cousins, (the sons of Abu Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Abi Hafs, the powerful governor of Ifriqiya): Abu Zayd (governor of Valencia), Abd Allah (governor of Jaen), and Abu Dabbus. They were promptly deprived of their posts. The governor of Jaen Abd Allah (nicknamed "al-Bayyasi", the Baezan), the brother of the governor of Valencia Abu Zayd, took a small group of followers and set up camp in the hills of Baeza, calling for open rebellion against al-Adil.

In Morocco Abdallah al-Adil's coup had barely succeeded. Most of the Masmuda tribal sheikhs, unwilling to see the balance in the Almohad coalition swinging into the hands of the Almohads of Spain, invoked their constitutional role and refused to ratify al-Adil's usurpation, rallying instead around the figure of his nephew Yahya, the son of al-Nasir. With the coup in danger of being reversed, Abdallah al-Adil made the fateful decision to begin shipping the bulk of the Almohad

forces in Spain across the straits to Morocco, intending to march on Marrakesh and imposing himself on the sheikhs. Eager to depart, al-Adil made only halfhearted effort to dislodge al-Bayyasi from the hills of Baeza in the winter of 1124-25. The campaign proved a humiliation - al-Bayyasi's little band of followers managed to fend off the much larger armies that al-Adil sent after them. Al-Adil quickly acquired a reputation for incompetence and poor military skills, which spread across the water to Morocco, emboldening the recusants and shaking the confidence of his allies. Determined to seize Marrakesh before it was too late al-Adil decided to ignore al-Bayyasi and stepped up the transportation of troops, and left his brother Abu l'Ulà al-Mam'mun as general governor of Al-Andalus. In the meantime Al-Bayyasi struck up an alliance with the hitherto quiet Ferdinand III of Castile. Bemused at the turn of events and delighted at the evacuation of Almohad troops, Ferdinand sensed an opportunity and decided to lend al-Bayyasi a large Castilian army.

In 1225 al-Bayyasi's band, accompanied by the Castilian army, descended from the Baeza hills. With al-Andalus practically denuded of Almohad troops they ravaged the lands of Jaen, the Vega de Granada, and by the end of the summer al-Bayyasi had captured the city of Córdoba. Seeing the vacuity, Alfonso IX of Leon and Sancho II of Portugal also took the opportunity to launch their own raids. Cáceres held up the Leonese, but the Portuguese raiders, facing no opposition, advanced rapidly and reached the outskirts of Seville in late 1225³⁴⁷.

On the other hand Murcia suffered a severe attack by the Christians of Cuenca, Huete, Alarcon, and Moya during the summer of 1225³⁴⁸.

³⁴⁷ **KENNEDY, Hugh** (1996) *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus*. London: Addison-Wesley-Longman

³⁴⁸ **MOLINA LÓPEZ, Emilio** (1986) *Por una cronología histórica sobre el Sarq al-Andalus (S. XIII)*. In: *Sarq Al-Andalus, Anales de la Universidad de Alicante (España)*, Núm. 3, pp. 39-55. Citation on p. 41

It is reported that the Caliph Al-Adil, his minister Abu Zayd ibn Yajjan, and leading Almohad commanders were in Seville at the time, but did not have the manpower to challenge the Christian army in the open. As a result the Portuguese raiders ravaged the outlying areas with impunity. At length the civilian population of Seville, disgusted at the inactivity of the Almohad rulers, decided to take matters into their own hands. A popular levy was raised in the city and marched out on their own to meet the Portuguese in the field. It was a massacre. The Portuguese men-at-arms mowed down the poorly armed townsfolk. Thousands - in one report as many as 20,000 - were slain before the walls of Seville. Blame for the Seville massacre - and other disasters - was placed fully on the incompetence and cowardice of Caliph al-Adil and his Almohad lieutenants. But al-Adil's fortunes soon turned. Al-Bayyasi had promised three frontier fortresses to Ferdinand III in payment for his services. But one of the fortresses, Capilla, refused to be passed over. The Castilians were forced to lay a long and difficult siege. The brave defiance of little Capilla, and al-Bayyasi's shipping of provisions to the Castilian besiegers, soon turned opinion against him and back towards the Almohad Caliph. An uprising in Cordoba followed, al-Bayyasi was killed, and his head dispatched to the Caliph in Marrakesh. But Abdallah al-Adil did not relish this victory for long. On October 4, 1227 he was drowned in a palace bathtub in Marrakesh and his nephew and rival was elected as the new Almohad Caliph Yahya 'al-Mutasim³⁴⁹.

³⁴⁹ **KENNEDY, Hugh** (1996) *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus*. London: Addison-Wesley-Longman.

5.6.1 Alcázares

Early into the 16th century people spoke about Alcázar or *El Alcázar*, which has been confirmed by the poet Abu-l-Hasan Hazim al-Qartayanni (1211-1285) who wrote a great poetic play. This poet of Islam was born in Cartagena and studied in Granada and Sevilla, later taking exile in Morocco. He later moved to Tunez and in the court of the great al-Mustansir wrote “qasida Maqsura”, a great poetic play in which Qartayanni remembers his youth and the beautiful landscapes of Buhayrat al-Qasr the Lagoon of Alcazar or, literally translated, ‘the Lagoon of the Palace’ with nostalgia³⁵⁰:

Y las nubes subieron para regar las zonas septentrionales,
algo más elevadas que ellas, y más altas,
Avanzando desde el fondo de un mar verde hacia
semejante Mar verde de pastizales;
Hasta que el testimonio de sus relámpagos atravesara
Buhayrat al-Qasr, extendiéndose entonces y asaetando
Cada nube baja cargada de lluvia...

³⁵⁰ **POCKLINGTON, Robert** (1990) *Estudios toponímicos en torno a los orígenes de Murcia*. Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, Murcia. Págs. 131-132

5.6.2 1228 Ibn Ahla

Muhammad b. ‘Ali Ibn Ahla (d. 645/1247) was native to Murcia and a famous *mutakallim* who is credited with adhering to an unspecified monistic doctrine. Following in the steps of the Sufi rebel Ibn Qasi, he instituted a semiclandestine movement at Lorca, combining promises of spiritual guidance with claims to political leadership. A disciple of Ibn al-Mar’a and a presumed teacher of Ibn Sab’in, Ibn Ahla is usually counted by Muslim heresiographers among the “people of oneness” (*ahl al-wahda*), although he may also have entertained the Isma‘ili (*batini*) belief in the impending advent of the messianic world-restorer, which prompted him to make a bid for power in Lorca”. As with Ibn Qasi, he was soon deposed and fled to Murcia where he died two years after the capture of the city by the Christians³⁵¹.

5.6.3 Ibn al-Yakki

Ahmad Ibn Sa’id (...) al-Qaysi, resident of Murcia, born in Yakka 593/1197 and known as Abu l-‘Abbas Ibn al-Yakki³⁵², worked for the judicature in Murcia. He was highly praised for his performance and was a fair and impartial judge. After his exile from Murcia in the year 1266 he was appointed judge of Almería until his death in 677/1279.

5.6.4 Abrenebioa Solaiman of Murcia

Another significant person of Islamic Science was The Kilan, called Abrenebioa Solaiman, son of Salim, who was born in Murcia. From a very young age he was educated in Valencia where he stayed until the time of the conquest. He is the author

³⁵¹ KNYSH, Alexander D. (1968) *Ibn ‘Arabi in the Later Islamic Tradition: The Making of a Polemical Image..*, New York, p. 345

³⁵² MARRAKUSI (no specified date) *Al-Dayl wa-l-Takmila*, ed. M. Ben Sarifa, Beirut, vol. I, p. 119, nº 162. Cited by CARMONA GONZÁLEZ, Alfonso (2009) Yecla. Memoria de su identidad, pp. 99-102

of most of the books of *hulices* that one knows of Murcian authors. His sermons, poems, and epistles form a considerable number of volumes. He also wrote the entire treaty of military expeditions of the Prophet and the three elected caliphs, in four volumes: the book on the knowledge of the Prophet's companions, followers, or disciples, which he did not finish; also a biographical Treaty of Isnam Bokhari and another book on Koranic traditions. The latest book was written in Murcia. The fame of his knowledge and learning spread everywhere, and people were coming to Murcia to hear his teachings. His heroic religious zeal was coupled by scientific superiority recognized by all, distinguishing traditional science. He was a renowned writer and famous orator who arranged to be heard his eloquent words in the royal assemblies. He also distinguished himself as a brave soldier appearing first among the combatants, instilling encouragement to his comrades in arms. He died at the age of seventy on a front in 1236 in the Battle of Arrixa in fighting the Christians. With this sacrifice he obtained martyrdom in his old age³⁵³.

5.6.5 Al-Makhzumi

Abū al-Muṭarrif, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allah b. ʿUmayra al-Makhzumi (582–658/1186–1260) was a man of letters, a scribe, a jurist, and a poet.

³⁵³ GÓNZALEZ PALENCIA, Ángel (1957) *Árabes murcianos ilustres*. In: Murgetana, Nº 10, pp. 9-43. Citation on pp. 19-20

